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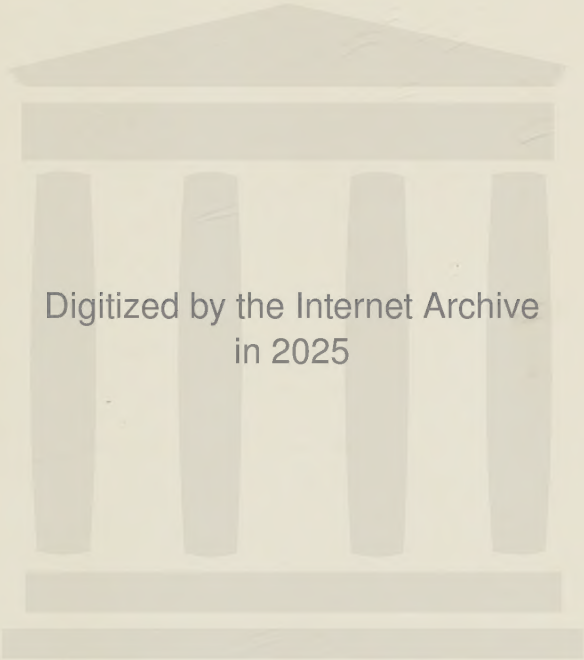

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Sketches *from* Slovak History

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SKETCHES
from
SLOVAK HISTORY

by

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PREFACE.

The author of these "Sketches from Slovak History" is one of the few writers, qualified by years of training, an enormous stock of accumulated knowledge, and by being a contemporary of the "blessings" bestowed upon the Slovaks by Magyar pseudo-culture, to narrate in his characteristic manner what ages had hidden from the outside world about this struggling little nation.

Born November 25, 1853, at Potok, near Ratková, in Gemer County, Slovakia, he was not quite three years old when his parents moved into a purely Magyar district, where he went to the grade school and up to the fifth grade of a secondary school (gymnasium). Public education in those days was already under the spell of that fanatic nationalism of the Magyars which had alienated from them the non-Magyar nationalities of the former Hungary and which resulted in the partition of Hungary along ethnic lines when the World War terminated.

In his early youth Škultéty grew as many other children of the Slovak middle class did. He was ready to fight for the Magyars and their language. It was only after his mother brought him for registration to the Slovak gymnasium at Revúca that through the glowing personality of its principal, August Horislav

Škultéty (not a relative) his mind and soul underwent a radical change. Here was a repetition of the miracle which had taken place on the road to Damascus. Saulus had turned into Paulus. Joseph Škultéty had found his own self. He became an ardent Slovak patriot whose scholarly efforts for over fifty years were crowned with success when on October 28, 1918 his nation became free and together with the Czechs of Bohemia formed a political state, the Czecho-Slovak republic.

The life of a Slovak patriot after 1848, and especially after 1867, when the Hapsburg dynasty settled its difficulties with the Magyar feudal nobility of Hungary by turning the non-Magyar nationalities over to their tender mercies, was all but enviable.

During the hard times, since 1871, after graduating from the teachers normal school, attached to the gymnasium at Revúca, but lacking the right of a public institution, Škultéty spent several busy years in various cities of Slovakia and was about to enter the service of the Magyar government in Budapest, when his fear of becoming lost in the sea of a foreign nation caused him to reject his appointment.

His literary activity had brought him in contact with the Slovak literati of Turč. Sv. Martin, and in 1879 we find him an employé of the "Slavia" bank. Two years later he is on the editorial staff of "Národnie Noviny", that valiant little Slovak daily which for more than fifty years has been fighting for the rights of the Slovak nation.

Here he came in contact with those fine minds, with kindred spirits in the national cause: Ján Francisci, Joseph Horváth, Paul Mudroň, Sigmund Melfel-

ber, Ambro Pivko, Gustav Izák, Ján Jesenský Gašparé, Joseph Kohút, Andrej Sokolík, Ján Meličko, Matúš Dula, Andrej Halaša, Dr. Ján Petrikovich, Andrej Červenák, Ľudovit Thomka, Ján Galanda, Samuel Šípka, Samuel Šimko, and particularly his collaborators in the editorial office, Mikuláš St. Ferienčík, Svetozár Hurban, Ambro Pietor, Anthony Bielek, Ďuro Čajda, and Andrej Černiansky.

Škultéty was interested in many fields of scholarly endeavor, but mainly in history, philology and literary criticism. His researches in history are conscientious, exact and scholarly, and his observations unbiased. In spite of his unfavorable experiences with the Magyars he deals with them in a manner of which no Magyar historian would be capable were conditions reversed. It is for this reason that his historic writings are so valuable: he appraises, he condemns, but he remains fair. He never permits passion to gain the upper hand over his calm, scholastic reasoning. Therein lies his greatest force.

His present volume, "Sketches from Slovak History" was published in Turč. Sv. Martin, and while controversial in a certain degree, proceeding from the three major premises, heading the first chapter, still the tone of his work is so dignified, and the facts presented so pregnant, that one can read the book without being caught by the spirit of the controversy — the facts contained therein are so captivating, and Slovak life painted so vividly, that one regrets that instead of these sketches Škultéty did not write a comprehensive history of that interesting little nation.

Under the Magyar régime Škultéty was several

times the involuntary guest of the Magyar government, having been sentenced to prison for "inciting against the Magyar nationality" — a very comfortable and useful phrase of the Magyar feudals holding power in Budapest, against any one who refused to sell his birthright in the white race for a mess of pottage of a Turanian mongrelism of doubful antecedents.

The Czecho-Slovak republic, in appreciation of Škultéty's merits in behalf of Slovak culture, made him the first professor of the Slovak language and literature at the new university at Bratislava shortly after its opening. However, he resigned from his post when, as a result of a misguided policy — mein Vaterland muss grösser sein — a controversy arose, in which some of the Czech professors took positions against the Slovak ethnic idea which would have earned them medals under the Magyar régime. The idea of Czechoslovakism, born during and shortly after the war, in which the Slovaks once more were threatened with losing their ethnic identity, this time in the Czech nation, was something which Škultéty could not digest. In the meantime, conditions are improving: Czechoslovakism is as dead as the proverbial doornail, and the Slovaks are looking hopefully towards a brighter future in a democratic republic, together with the Czechs, in a state, one and inseparable, as equals among equals. The uphill struggle of the Slovak patriots from the earliest times to the present date was not in vain.

O. D. KOREFF.

Pittsburgh, Pa., June 29, 1928.

"The first attempt towards our free state-life occurred within the confines of Greater Moravia which consisted of a part of Slovakia and Moravia. This formation did not contain the sum total of all which belonged, could or should have belonged to it ethnically or politically; it was ephemeral and collapsed with the first shock. The independent Kingdom of Bohemia arose and we remained under the sovereignty of the Hungarian State. Czech (Bohemian) independence reached the climax of that power and glory which the human mind is capable of conceiving in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.... No other nation in such modest circumstances and with such modest means accomplished so much in behalf of the progress of humanity as the Czech (Bohemian) nation accomplished."

Dr. Milan Hodža; Prúdy 1927, pg. 133.

"Why do our people hate, from the bottom of their souls, their brother, the Czech (Bohemian) who had fought for their freedom and independence, snatched them away from the Magyar yoke, and saved them from national death and an inevitable, gradual, but steady extinction?"

Dr. V. Šrobár; Prúdy 1927, pg. 205.

"It has been said more than once — it is natural to combine with the one best fitted for life."

Dr. Ľudovít Medvecký.

(The foregoing three paragraphs form the basis on which the author of "Sketches from Slovak History" argues against the fallacies expressed therein. He takes exception to the contention that Svätopluk's Greater Moravia was an ephemeral state formation; that the Czechs freed the Slovaks from the Magyar yoke, and that the Slovaks (because they are less fitted for life) should combine with the Czechs (because they are better fitted for life). His proofs against these contentions are overwhelming.)

O. D. K.

I.

THE GREATER MORAVIAN STATE OF OUR ANCESTORS. — THE SLAVONIC CHURCH AND SLAVONIC LITERATURE ARE ITS LEGACY.

In 862, i. e., 1065 years ago there came to Emperor Michael in Constantinople messengers from the region of the Middle Danube, the Germano-Slavonic frontier, and said to him: "By the grace of God we are in good health. There are Christian teachers coming to us from Italy, Greece and Germany, teaching us various things. But we are — Slovenes . . . . " The words "but we are Slovenes" were meant to convey that they desired to have teachers in the Christian doctrine "who would teach us in our own language, intelligible to us", and they added: "Send us such, O, Lord."

Those were the messengers of our Slovak ancestors, from their ruler Rastislav. The speech, which they addressed to Emperor Michael, is quoted in the biography (Žitie) of Apostle Methodius, and the opening sentence:

"By the grace of God we are in good health" gives this historic document a coloring of antiquity. It proves that Slovaks said this in Constantinople. [1]

At that time, in 862, there already stood in our Nitra a Christian church for more than thirty years, the first among all the western Slavs. But since then Rastislav had bad experiences. The missionaries came mainly from the Germans, our western neighbors, and the worst of it was that his nation did not understand them and thus Christianity only slowly took root. Rastislav dreaded that the Germans would want to subjugate politically whomever they converted to Christ. [2] For that reason

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1) The Life of Constantine (later Cyril) and the Life of Methodius are preserved in the Old-Slavonic Church language. Apostle Methodius survived his brother Cyril by sixteen years. In Slavistic science The Life of Constantine is considered the work of Methodius, and the Life of Methodius the work of one of their Slovak disciples. The sentence "By the grace of God we are in good health" in the speech of the messengers to Constantinople is very interesting. When meeting one another the Slovaks thus speak about health. Neither a German, nor any other of the western nations would know how to say it. In the Life of Methodius (V. Chapter) it is translated into Latin: "bene valemus — we are well." (In the Magyar language "hogy szolgál az egészség?" and similar expressions are from the Slovak language.)

2) Today even the Germans themselves admit much of that nature. " . . . . . mit dem deutschen Priester kam auch der deutsche Colonist . . . . . so dasz von nun an Christianisierung and Germanisierung Hand in Hand gehen." cf. Karl Schober: Die Deutschen in Nieder und Ober-Oesterreich, Salzburg. Steyermark, Kärnthen and Krain. pg. 15.

he asked for teachers from the East and sent his messengers to Constantinople. From thence he procured extraordinary, great men — real apostles in the persons of the brothers Constantine and Methodius. They founded in Rastislav's nation the Slavonic Church and Slavonic literature. And from Slavonic worship and Slavonic literature, thus founded, a great thing emanated for the Slavs....

Great confusion arose among the Slavists over the question what kind of Slavs had constituted Rastislav's and Svätopluk's Greater Moravia, although Dobrovský, the founder of Slavonic philology as early as in 1825 emphatically claimed that the real Greater Moravia was the present-day Slovakia,[1] and Šafárik in his "Slovanské Starožitnosti" in 1837 presented the Slovaks in the second half of the ninth century not only between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube, (as far as Mt. Matra and Vacov) and near Moravia, but also on the other bank of the Danube, up to Blatno.[2] This was properly elucidated by V. Jagić who pointed the way for the fourth generation of Slavists. In his great work on the origin

1) "....die heutige Slowakey in Oberungern ist das eigentliche Gross-Mähren . . . ." — he wrote in a letter (in 1825) to J. S. Bandtke. (Correspondence of Joseph Dobrovský, II. pg. 163.)

2) Slovanské Starožitnosti, pg. 794, 795, 1822.

of the Church Slavonic language,[1] expounding the ethnographic character of ancient Moravia, the Moravia of Rastislav and Svätopluk, Jagić wrote: "In her language Moravia is even today Czech only in her western half — her eastern half connects with the Slovaks, and these Slovaks live even now in North-western Hungary .. In ancient Moravia, if her frontiers extended to the Danube, they must have spoken a language in the ninth century which was in its substantial outlines identical with the present-day Slovak language (as in Moravia and Upper Hungary). This Slovak language could then have extended farther into Moravia than it does today, and in Hungary could have reached as far as the Danube." In his article on Slavonic languages[2] Jagić called the present-day Slovak dialects descendents of the language of ancient Moravia. We can add to his explanation the evidence we have in the name Rastislav. That name puts a special Slovak stamp on Greater Moravia. As we know from Slovak grammar, there are two groups of words which the Slovaks have in common with the South-Slavs, but not with the Czechs and Poles, to whom as western

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1) Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache, Berlin, 1913, pg. 19. (First edition Vienna 1900.)

2) Die slawischen Sprachen. (Die Kultur der Gegenwart, I. IX. 1908. Berlin und Leipzig.)

Slavs they otherwise belong linguistically. To one of these groups (*raz,* in Czech *roz — rázga* in Czech *rozha, ražeň,* in Czech *rožen, rakyta,* in Czech *rokyta, rázštep, ráztoka,* and others) belongs also the word *rásť* (in Czech *rosti*) and words derived from it. (Together with the Czechs and the Poles, the Russians also pronounce *o*). Now, in contemporaneous or old records in general the name of Rastislav is R*a*stislav everywhere, and only exceptionally, by some error, R*o*stislav; in contemporaneous records, in German annals, they call him persistently R*a*stic (an abbreviated form of the name). That means the German neighbors heard that name with an *a*, and sounding thus, it proves that either in Moravia, in all of Moravia, a language was spoken whose phonetics was as the phonetics of the language beneath the Tatra Mountains, or the present-day middle-Slovak language, or else the family of princes who reared Rastislav sprang from Slovaks, living on this side of the Morava river. However, though Rastislav was a native of this side of the Morava river, they still would have called him in their own way R*o*stislav on the other, the western side. And that they did not call him thus; that the name "Rastislav" resounded even in Western Moravia is proven by the form "Rastic", preserved in all the con-

temporaneous German records.[1] The country of Rastislav, even in the extreme West, was Slovak.[2]

In the South-East, as we already know from Šafárik,[3] and as topographic names show us, the Slovak settlements reached to Mt. Matra. In the East they primarily reached approximately to the river Topľa, which name remained after the Slovenes, the ancestors of the present-day Bulgars. But after they (the Slovenes) crossed beyond the lower Danube from the territory on the other bank of the Tisa, in the seventh century, the Slovak-Slovenes expanded in the East even beyond the Topľa river. (There and in the territory beyond Užhorod, occupied by Russians since the twelfth century, the names of settlements are in the majority of Slovak origin.) From Mt. Matra to Vacov, beyond the Danube from

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1) For instance in 855: Rex Hludovicus in Sclavo Marahenses contra Rastizen ducem eorem sibi rebellantem parum prospere ducto exercitu — (Ruodolfus Fuldens, pg. 369.)

Ibidem pg. 370: Quo per fugam lapso et ad Rastizen se conferente. — In 869 "....in illam ineffabilem Rastizi munitionem et omnibus antiquissimis dissimilem...." (Annales Fuldenses, Pertz, I. 381.) In 870 "... . Zuentibald, nepos Rastizi . . . ." (Annales Fuldenses, 382.)

2) Svätopluk's predecessor is also called Rastic by the Slovak monk Chrabr, and about him we know that he wrote during the time "when there still lived people who had SEEN the apostles Cyril and Methodius."

3) Slovanské Starožitností, pg. 804.)

Budín up to Vyšehrad, and Ostrihom, are also ancient Slovak settlements.[1] Indeed, Slovak settlements could have extended even farther South, to Blatno. Pribina, driven from Nitra, though enjoying German favor, could have hardly become a ruler here as a stranger. Apostle Methodius had been appointed by Rome archbishop of Panonia and Moravia since 873, from which we can also judge that below the Danube, in Panonia, lived a nation much like the one above the Danube, beneath the Carpathians and along the Morava river. Even Šafárik called attention to the names of prominent

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1) Vacov, Budín, Vyšehrad, Ostrihom, are Slovak, western Slavonic names, as are Devín, Bazín, Budatín. Beyond Budín was Tetín (as in Bohemia) — the Germans living there since the thirteenth century call it Teting, just as Bazín is to them Bösing, Hodonín — Göding, in Lower Austria Modlín, — Mödling, and many others. Vacov is derived from the same proper name as in Bohemia is Vác; Ostrihom is what in Bohemia is Střehom (the o in its prefix has the same origin as in Oršava, or in Zvolen Ortuty, and the Šariš Ordzovány) . . . We must needs motivate the close relationship between the Czechs and the Slovaks by such topographic names, but not by a "common culture", of which there could have been but very little between us owing to the separation as states and the different geographic location. Let us but examine our culture-words, what dissimilarity they present to us. The Slovaks call ink: atrament, the Czechs inkoust; or, that which is tabák (tobacco) to the Czechs is dohán to the Slovaks. (That means, smoking reached the Slovaks by way of the Orient, through the Turks; the Czechs and the Germans from America, by way of Spain. The Slovak local names (Kaza, Kazinec, Tetín, Ľubiša — in Zemplín — Praha (in Novohrad) contravert also Kosmas' inventions of the daughters of Krok, Kaza, Teta and Libuša and the founding of Praha (Prague).

people who were present in 850 at the consecration of Pribina's church at Blatno castle. Jagić explains those names of "Panonian Slovenes" and arrives at the conclusion that from among fifteen almost half were western Slavonic. If these names were western Slavonic, then they were Slovak — no other western Slavs could have lived near Blatno.

The state of our ancestors, which even in Mojmír's days unto 846 had been built wisely and courageously, was already a power in the days of Rastislav. The Germans were then pushing down the Danube as they never did afterwards, and Greater Moravia, the young Slavonic State, bravely barred their way. True enough, their aggression only increased thereby. King Louis, surnamed the German, a grandson of Charlemagne, in 855, immediately after his accession, invaded Moravia with a great military force in order to rid himself of a danger which was growing there for his realm. But here the first resistance was so great that Louis — as a contemporaneous record mentions — decided rather to leave the opponent in peace than to expose his whole army to a catastrophe. He did not dare an attack upon the firm position of Rastislav and merely devastated the neighborhood. Though the attack of the Moravians on the German encampments was re-

pulsed, the German retreat resembled a flight. Rastislav pursued Louis, the German, invaded his territory and devastated a large area. Liberated Moravia — says Šafárik — came to complete independence and became the haven of refuge of all the Slavs who were either discontended with or oppressed by the Franks (Germans); or even of the Germans themselves who had come into some conflict with the government of King Louis. Even his sons, Charlemagne and Louis Junior looked to Rastislav for support in their quarrels with their father.

In the annals of 869 of the Fuld monastery there is a record which mentions Rastislav's castle, in all probability Devín, as "a mighty fortress with which not even one of the most ancient can compare."[1] Under Svätopluk, after Rastislav, Greater Moravia represented a still greater military power. The defeat of the Germans in 870, beneath Devín, was crushing. Their great army perished in the battle; very few saved themselves by flight. There were very few families in Bavaria, Austria and Carinthia who did not mourn the loss of some of their members. Charlemagne quickly ordered the gathering of all the captured Moravians whom he kept in various places of his country

1) " . . . . in illam ineffabilem Rastizi munitionem et omnibus antiquissimis dissimilem . . . ."

in order to redeem for them his prisoners from Svätopluk, but he got only one half-dead person back, the renowned hero Ratbod. Any German who had not fled from the battlefield, remained there dead.

This battle had been compared with that which the Roman general Varus lost in the Teutoburg Forest in the year 9 A. D., and Svätopluk was compared with the German Armin (Herman). But we also have Palacký's version of that battle. Palacký, with keen perception, stated that even in history there is a difference between these two battles. The first was described to us by Tacitus, about the other we know from the chronicles of the monk of Fuld. [1]

Later in his reign Svätopluk completely stopped the onslaught of the Germans down the Danube, towards the East. In German annals a record is preserved stating that when he went against Arnulf in 884 his army was seen in one place to pass all day, from morning until evening. Svätopluk already had extended his sovereignty to the North, over Bohemia, where

1) Dějiny národu českého. I. (1876) pg. 147.

We Slovaks, however, can supplement even Palacký's statement; we have a poetic narration of the great battle beneath Devín. Ján Hollý's great epic poem in 12 cantos, named after its principal hero "Svätopluk", represents it. As Tacitus' description there, so Ján Hollý's description here, is grand. (A work from historic sources of such a poet as is Ján Hollý has also its historic value.)

the first historic prince, Borivoj, ruled, and over the Polish Slavs on the Upper Vistula; in the South his sovereignty extended even farther; far beyond the frontiers of Slovak territory. It seemed that the scattered Slavs would unite under his rule.

I shall not quote Šafárik, Palacký or any other Slavonic historian. It suffices to cite from Pauler as to that past. In his book "A magyar nemzet története szent Istvánig", awarded in 1900 the Grand premium of the Magyar Academy, Pauler says: "The Magyars were much nearer to their present homeland in Atelkuz than they had been in Lebedia. From the Seret, from Baku to Marosvásárhelyi the distance is only some twenty geographic miles. And here they could look, probably by way of the most natural road, through the valley of the Dnieper, then up the Stryj, through Verek Pass, to the land extending South of the Carpathians where just then great battles raged. The Slavs living along the Morava river, on the left bank of the Danube, under powerful and brave rulers, had formed a country worthy of consideration. They became Christianized in the first half of the ninth century, but in reality they were reinforced in the Christian faith only by Constantine, the philosopher and his brother Methodius since 863. From the very beginning of the ninth

century there were continuous wars between the Slavs and the realm of the Franks, from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic, now here, now there. The Slavs had penetrated wedge-like between the Germanic tribes since the sixth century, and their reaction was not remiss. In the ninth century the Germans attacked everywhere and tried to make vassals of their Slav neighbors along the Saale river, as well as on the frontiers of the Bohemian Highlands. With the Slavs beyond the middle Danube Svätopluk now founded such a realm to which Bohemia, the countries about the sources of the Vistula, and in the South, besides the valley of the Morava, Váh and Nitra — that kernel of the realm — subjected themselves, and his power extended from the river Hron over the whole territory between the Danube and the Tisa rivers, down to Sriem and up to the Carpathians.... Eastern Frankland, that conglomeration of Saxons, Franks, Suabians and Bavarians, was ruled since 887 by the handsome and brave Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Charlemagne, and a grandson of Louis, the German, who but a few years previously — in 883 and 884 — as prince of Carinthia had felt the weight of Svätopluk's power and had helplessly looked on how he (Svätopluk) had cruelly and mercilessly ruined Panonia, and he did not know

what to do with him even now, that he was king. In July 892, Arnulf, with an army of Franks, Suabians and Bavarians attacked Moravia. The Magyar horde, which was just then passing through, joined him (— as mercenaries of Arnulf, note of author) and ravaged Svätopluk's country for four weeks; but later the Germans and Magyars turned homeward (with bleeding heads — note of the author) and Svätopluk's power, untouched, remained as it had been before." [1]

In German yearbooks and in contemporaneous annals Svätopluk is alternately called the "powerful", "the dread of his neighbors", "the wisest", "the most deceitful" man of his nation, "a wolf", and "a blood-thirsty malcontent." The calumnies of enemies, of course, are not to be taken literally. To his German neighbors Svätopluk was "a wolf", and "blood-thirsty", as the wounds caused by his sword smarted. But those were wounds which they sustained mostly when they ventured where they had no right to go. History judges differently from contemporaries. I could cite from the excellent work of Alfons Huber, [2] an Austro-German, quotations similar to those in the Magyar book of Pauler about the history

1) Pg. 26, etc.,
2) Geschichte Österreichs, I.

of the nation of Mojmír, Rastislav and Svätopluk, in the second half of the ninth century.

To found such a state, a Slav state on the middle Danube at that time — in the second half of the ninth century — certainly was a great accomplishment; history will never cease speaking of it. There were indeed indications that a center was originating here around which a considerable part of the Slavs would unite. But a young state, in order to fortify itself, to consolidate, must needs have favorable conditions. History motivates even the beginning of Rome with favorable and fortunate conditions. Our Slovak ancestors, at the end of the ninth century, were not so fortunate. The Germanic world still lived in a condition of ferment — to have it as a neighbor was not good. It would yield, retreat, only under duress, as under Svätopluk. After Svätopluk's death the nomadic Magyars came as another neighbor on the southern bank of the Danube and to the Tisa river. Under such circumstances, after the first weakening, caused by internal, domestic strife, a young organization is apt to fare very badly. This strife, this discord among the sons of Svätopluk, was incited by their German neighbors, and Greater Moravia perished. The Magyars came to the Danube in 896, two years after Svätopluk's death, Mojmír II., Svätopluk's

successor, in 900 petitioned for and procured from Rome two bishops and one archbishop, thus still organizing the Church. In 902 he still proved to his trans-Danubian neighbors that he is a son of Svätopluk;[1] but not long afterwards he was no more. It is not even known what became of him — whither he went — Greater Moravia perished.[2]

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1) According to all, though sparse reports, Mojmír became the heir not only of his father's realm, but also of his abilities as a statesman. However, ... for the successor of Svätopluk even that fact was fatal that he came after such a predecessor . . . . (V. Novotný: České Dějiny, pg. 421.)

2) Mention of the battle of Bratislava in 907, which the Bavarians together with Mojmír II. are supposed to have lost against the Magyars, appeared only in the sixteenth century with Aventinus and has been recently rejected even by Magyar historians. In present days, after the World War, a record was found among German sources, confirming the statements of Aventinus, but it will hardly throw more light on the subject. After 907 more than one hundred years passed and still the Magyars did not appear on this (the Slovak) side of the Danube. Not until after 1025, after the death of Boleslav the Brave of Poland, or rather towards the end of the reign of St. Stephen, they began gradually to expand and domesticate. — Konrad Schünemann, (Die Deutschen in Ungarn bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin u. Leipzig 1923) also states that the Magyars occupied Panonia only slowly and gradually so that the Germans who had lived there had opportunity to withdraw without haste into their former settlements. — About this question it is necessary to have constantly in mind that the Magyars came to the Danube as nomads, and a nomad, if he stops anywhere, must not stir his closest neighbor against himself. (I do not desire to offend the Magyars by the simile, but the Gypsies, living on the outskirts of our towns and villages say even today: "No one steals in his neighborhood.") Besides, the Magyars came here — as we shall see farther on — on their flight. They came with a frightful experience. While they had meandered from Atelkuz beyond the Danube, hired by the

The state of affairs on the middle Danube in the ninth century is explained in Anton Budilovič's book, published in 1885, at the millenial memorial of the death of Methodius: "The Huns and the Avars cleaned the lands of the middle Danube considerably from the Thraco-Illyrian, Celto-Roman and Germanic nations, but under the successors of Charlemagne German colonization again turned to these blessed lands and covered with its net not only Upper but also Lower Panonia and the western aft-

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Greek Emperor against the Bulgars, the neighboring Pechenegs attacked their defenseless settlements in Atelkuz and slay their children, women and the aged. After their return from the Danube, terrified by the dreadful happenings in Atelkuz, they packed whatever they still could and took to flight in a westerly direction. They stopped only when they reached the territory between the Tisa and the middle Danube, in Panonia. After such an experience they could venture from the Danube, from Panonia, on predatory expeditions into Italy and Germany, but with their most proximate neighbors they very likely endeavored to live in peace. We find proof of this kind of their life in the known remonstrance of the German bishops in 900 which contains grave accusations against the Slavs (probably of Panonia), that they assisted the Magyars. As a matter of fact, the Magyars, who had come from the eastern steppes scarcely had any great desire to venture across, to the left bank of the Danube. The nomad avoids mountains. He needs an unobstructed view, far around himself, and in the mountains, whether on the right or on the left, in front or behind, there is always a possibility of danger. For that reason it is not very likely that the Magyars after their arrival on the Danube — as early as in 907 — would have ventured into a great action against Mojmír II. They began — as now even Magyar history admits — to occupy the territories on the left bank of the Danube gradually, in the eleventh century, towards the end of the reign of St. Stephen.

valley of Moravia. The antlike activity of the German colonist there was supported by a quite mature political and ecclesiastical organization of contemporary Germany .... Behind the Gerhan colonist there stood on the one side the German soldier, the margrave, the duke, the king, the emperor; on the other side the German priest, the monk, the bishop, the archbishop. What could the Slavs of those lands, divided into branches, scattered, not united by anything, put up against such forces? The federative union of two or three tribes, the muscular force of the homeguards, the accidental geniality of the chief and the enthusiam of national hatred, aroused by force? That can only be temporary .... A lasting and successful struggle is only possible where there exists a certain balance of forces and equality of weapons, bow against bow, system against system, forceful, profound ideas against other ideas. Can there be any talk of balance of forces of one or two Slavonic nations with the whole German race, of an union of a few patriarchal tribes with a great and organized empire? Could even the most genial leaders of contemporary Slavdom repell the onslaught of a whole system of ideas of culture which also embraced the heritage of the antique world and the refreshing stream of Christianity? .... The best answer to this quest-

ion is offered in the fate of the Baltic Slavs. There they lacked neither in talented military leaders, nor in ardent hatred of the Germans, and yet these Slavs perished and their lands became the center of the later renovated empire of the Hohenstaufens."

The closing words of Budilovič are that the same fate would have befallen the Slavs of Greater Moravia had not their Rastislav, aroused by a penetrating foresight, procured such apostles as were the two brothers of Saloniki, Cyril and Methodius. [1]

As already mentioned, the state of affairs was hard for our Slovak ancestors. Still, their state creation lasted almost one hundred years, and from the very beginning inscribed itself legibly into history. Palacký, in his "Dějiny" (history) represents the foundations which Rastislav and Svätopluk built with his nation as the center around which the other Slavonic tribes would have ranged gradually; from it they would have received Christianity; if not political, new constitutions, at least national and Neo-European culture, science and industry, unity of language, writing and literature. As under the influenze of Rome the monarchy of the Franks grew in the West, a great Slav

1) Mefodievskij jubilejnyj sbornik, Varšava, 1885, pg. 79, etc.,

realm would have grown with the co-activity of the spirit of Byzantium, and Eastern Europe would have assumed a shape different from that which it in reality assumed. [2)]

Palacký spoke as if carried away in a rhetorical rapture; but it can be calmly stated that great things were lost with the collapse of Greater Moravia. Even at that, the Slavonic Church, *founded for our Slovak ancestors,* with Slavonic writing and Slavonic literature, became the foundation on which the great Slav race developed. When in the West only three, or rather two languages (Greek and Latin) were considered feasible for ecclesiastic life, the Holy Scriptures and worship, the brothers Cyril and Methodius began with the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Slavonic language. At the end of the seventies of the nineteenth century, when as a result of the Russo-Turkish war the Balkan Slavs were rid of a hard fate of five hundred years duration, and among all the Slavs flowed especially cordial feelings the Russian literary historian Alexander Pypin called attention to the Pan-Slavic significance of the fact how much the great apostles Cyril and Methodius had accomplished while among our Slovak ancestors.

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2) Dějiny národu českého, I, I, 1876, pg. 223.

And he added that their work is a heritage and an ideal for Slavic unification. [1)]

True enough, the neighboring Germans at once caused a commotion because Constantine and Methodius were installing Slavonic worship and translating the Holy Scriptures in Rastislav's land. Our apostles deemed it necessary for that reason to journey to Rome as early as 867. There they submitted their cause in such a manner that Pope Hadrian solemnly blessed the Slavonic books. Before the coming to Moravia of the brothers, only Constantine had been ordained to priesthood; the pope ordered also Methodius and their Slovak disciples, whom they had brought along to Rome, to be ordained, and in the leading cathedrals of Rome the liturgy was being sung in a Slavonic language. It became necessary for the apostles to remain a longer time in Rome. Constantine, physically frail, became sick, joined a monastic order and assumed the name Cyril. While going about as a missionary among the Kozars, near the Black Sea, Cyril had searched in Kherson for the remains of St. Clement, who had died a martyr, and these restored remains he now brought to Rome. Thus it happened, that when he died on

1) A. N. Pypin: Istorija slavianskich literatur, I. pg. 35.

February 14, 869, he was buried in the church of that same St. Clement.

The dying Cyril urgently implored his brother to persevere in the important Slovak mission. Methodius, of course, persevered with the greatest zeal. Since 873 he was archbishop of Panonia and Moravia. When the German bishops did not cease inciting against Slavonic worship, it again became necessary to journey to Rome. And even in this trial he came out victorious. Pope John VIII., writes in a bull sent to Svätopluk ("gloriose principi Sfentopulcho"): "The Slavonic script, which the late philosopher Constantine devised, that in it may duly resound the praise of God, is lawfully confirmed; and we decree that in that language the glory and the acts of our Lord Christ be told. For not only in three, but in all languages are we exhorted by the holy author (King David) to praise the Lord .... The apostles too, permeated with the Holy Ghost, spoke in all languages of the magnitude of God .... He who created the three principal languages (Hebrew, Greek and Latin) created also the others to His honor and glory ...."

What great events! Thus is proven that in the Church the Slavonic language was placed in the same rank with Greek and Latin; this soon after the ninth century, and it took its in-

ception among our Slovak ancestors! As long as there will be souls capable of becoming enthused with sublime things, so long will the memory of the Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius remain revered, and there will be always found people who will know that the Slavonic Church had been instituted for our Slovak ancestors, and that it all emanated from the mind of their great ruler Rastislav. The Slovak state of the ninth century did not survive, it became extinct in the maelstrom of the world, but the Slavs have a great heritage from it.

With the development of science, particularly Slavonic philology, this event in the history of the world will become more lucid with every year. When the work of the Slavonic apostles and the struggle of Greater Moravia with the Germanic world will be remembered, talk of Carpatho-Danubian and Panonian Slavs will cease, and the Slovene-Slovaks will be definitely mentioned. When it is once clear that the inhabitants of present-day Moravia were nothing but Slovaks, the nation of Rastislav and Svätopluk will not be called Moravians and Slovaks (as in "Slovanské Starožitnosti" of Šafárik), but persistently and definitely Slovaks. The biographies (Žitia) of our apostles, which remained in the Church-Slavonic lan-

guage will cease to be called "Panonian" legends when it will be established that the great missionaries whom Rastislav had appointed were only in Panonia on their journey to Rome, after an activity of four years in Moravia and Slovakia; then again Methodius was there alone, before he could reach home from his return journey from Rome, and stopped in Devín or in Nitra. (Thus in 867, when stopping beyond Blatno, with Kocel' it was surely only because he was the son of Pribina, formerly of Nitra.) There will also cease the confusion with Bohemia, as this country only participated in the creation of the Slavonic church and literature since the baptism of Borivoj. Not even the rumor that Methodius converted the Bulgar (Czar) Boris to Christ by painting for him a picture of Judgment Day, will mislead; neither one nor the other of the two brothers from Saloniki was with any of the other Slavonic nations except with the Slovene-Slovaks. Their teachings reached the Bulgars only through disciples from Greater Moravia after Methodius was no longer among the living.

This matter was excellently illuminated most recently by a Russian emigrant, the Slavonic philologist Valerij Pogorielev at the university of Bratislava, in his study: "About the

nationality of the apostles of Slavdom."[1] The Slavonic script as devised by apostle Constantine-Cyril, after he and his brother Methodius already had the authority for the mission among Rastislav's nation, and the grammar of that script, founded in the Church-Slavonic books, is such an accomplishment that Cyril is being admired as a linguistic phenomenom. Among scientists both brothers were generally considered native Greeks. But even the doubtful, into whose heads could not penetrate the idea that one who was not born a Slav could grasp in such a manner and sense the character of the Slavonic language, as we see it with our St. Cyril, were silenced. What did Pogorielov do? He began to examine the Slavonic translations of the Holy Scriptures made from the Greek to check up whether the brothers from Saloniki were such experts in Greek as they had been in the Slavonic language. He found that in the Church-Slavonic Bible texts *were errors which could not have been made by a translator whose mother-language had been Greek.* Pogorielov came to the conclusion that the holy brothers from Saloniki were not Greeks, *but Slavs.* At the same time he very aptly remarks that, acknowledging such a solu-

1) In No. 2. of Bratislava, a publication of the Learned Society of Šafárik, 1927.

tion of the question, we will also comprehend that energy, zeal and self-sacrifice which they displayed in the services of the Slav cause. We comprehend their impartiality in the conflict between Byzantium and Rome. Would Greeks have gone to Rome to seek protection for their Slavonic activity?

It is also interesting how Pogorielov explains the relations of the Slovene-Slovaks to the work of the holy apostles. When after the death of Methodius the Slavonic church books were transfered from Moravia to Bulgaria, they proved not quite intelligible there. The Bulgarian literati began to *correct* the language of the books, instead of *nedag* (at present neduh) they put *bolezň,* instead of *prositi* they wrote *moliti,* instead of *život — žizň,* instead of *otrok — sluga,* instead of *godina — čas,* etc., i. e., in the Church text the Slovak words (Slovak in the present-day sense) were exchanged for Bulgarian words. But Pogorielov does not stop there, he goes farther. He explains how western Slavonic or Slovak words had gotten into the work of the natives of Saloniki, of South-Slavs. Gorazd, one of the foremost disciples of Cyril and Methodius was considered a Slovak by Šafárik. Pogorielov quotes about Gorazd the words [1] with which the dying Methodius

1) Žitie sv. Metoda, kap. XVII.

(in 885) appointed him his successor in the archi-episcopal see: "This is a man of your free country [1] —" meaning Gorazd, *"a man of your country",* was not a Southern Slav, as had been the apostles themselves, the brothers from Saloniki, but a western Slav, or a son of that country — as Pogorielov says emphatically — where he had been active, as Methodius himself its archbishop, had said. The Slovakisms in the Slavonic text of the Holy Scriptures are the work of Gorazd, "to his pen also belongs the translation of all the works from Latin into the Slavonic language." Pogorielev calls Gorazd the third holy apostle of Slavdom. Referring also to the great Slavist Jagić, who explained in 1900 and in 1913 that in the ancient Moravia in the ninth century "substantially the same language was spoken as is today's Slovak", Pogorielev admits that "it was the Slovak language, and the country was Slovakia, which means that St. Gorazd really was a man from Slovakia — that he was a Slovak. [2]

1) Se jest vašeję zemlję svobod mąž.... (Žitie Metoda. kap. XVII.)

2) In confirmation Pogorielov further shows how in the Cyrillo-Methodic text the negative NIE and its opposite ÁNO is expressed. The Czechs say ANO, the Poles TAK, the Russians and Bulgars DA, the Serbs and Croats JEST; only the Slovak language has the same word as we read in the Gospel of Matthew V. 37., "bądi že slovo vaše ej, ej i ni ni. Or Mat. XXI, 16) when the Pharisees asked Christ: Slyšiši li čto sii glagoljąt, Jisus že reče im: ej. (In the Králická Bible it reads: jistě,

In the introduction to his study, written and published in Bratislava, Pogorielov remarks that the holy apostles, Cyril and Methodius, passed also over that territory, therefore, the words of the great bard of Slavdom, Ján Kollár, could be rightfully repeated.

"Stand still, foot! Sacred the places are whither thou walkest!"
To which I add: Aye, aye, Devín!!....

About a person who accomplished great things people say after his death: "He died, but his memory lives." "Greater Moravia has also passed away, but her heritage is of such a

jistě, nikoli, nikoli, and the second: ovšem. In Slovak, in the Trnava edition of Richard Osvald: ano, ano, nie, nie, and (chapt. XXI) ovšem.)

Instead of the full sounding "HEJ" the Slavonic Church text has EJ — there being no letter h in the Cyrillic script. It is true in the 9. century the Slovaks still pronounced G instead of the present-day H. But then, this affirmative word could only begin with the vowel E, or Gorazd would have scarcely omitted its letter G.

In behalf of the Slovak cause it is advisable to add that in the Old-Slavonic Bible text this EJ (HEJ) is such a mark of characteristic in present-day middle Slovak, as is the letter A in the name Rastislav. And thus the one and the other is an historic document about the Slovaks — about the nationality of Greater Moravia. In the 9. century, in all of the present-day Moravia and in all of western Slovakia substantially the same language was spoken as we have it today along the Middle Váh, lower Orava, Turec, Hron, Ipeľ and in Upper Nitra. (It will not be possible to risk an opinion against such documents as this, that the core of the Slovak dialectical region is not the middle group, but the western.) (M. W. in his note on "Staré Slovensko" pg. 284.)

nature that she will be remembered. Here took place — says a Russian histoiran — events not only of Pan-Slavic, but also, we may state, of universal significance: the important attempt of a political unification of the Slavs — the Greater Moravian Union — which distinguished itself by the memorable, unceasingly fertile activity of the Slavonic apostles in Moravia. Here were laid the foundations for the national church and the national Christian education, *here originated the draft and the directive of the future of the whole subsequent historic development of Slavdom, its world role and relation to Romano-Germanic Europe, to the West, and to the Asiatic question.* The Christianization of the masses and their life, their conversion to the Eastern Church, the foundation of Church-Slavonic literature and education in the Slavonic South, among the Bulgars and the Serbs, and in the East among the Russians, and partly also among other western Slavs, *was only the continuation of that work* which Cyril and Methodius had begun and which could survive only a short time in the middle Danubian countries. From thence, from Greater Moravia, flowed a copious stream of Slavonic Church literature and Slavonic ritual, of a common Church language and together with it also of national con-

sciousness in all directions — to the various kin: in the North to the Poles, in the West to the Czechs, in the South to the Slovenes, the Serbo-Croats and Bulgars (to the latter directly through the disciples of Methodius, who had been expelled from Moravia after his death) and lastly in the East, to Russia [1] . . . . "

"The fruits of a sovereign spiritual development based on a national Church and literature, founded by the Slavonic apostles" — further says Constantine Grot — asserted themselves in the Slavonic South and East, *where there was not the hard national struggle, as it existed in the middle Danubian region.*" He calls attention to the fact that is was at that time that the Germanic world returned with elemental force into these lands which her tribes had occupied once before, and for that reason it was much harder for the Carpatho-Danubian Slavs to withstand such pressure. And just then the Magyars also came . . . .

Indeed, even during the life of Svätopluk, soon after the death of Methodius (in 885) the Slavonic Church had been transferred from us to the South-Slavs, thence to the Eastern (Slavs) and there helped to create the great Russian nation out of the many tribes. "The

1) K. J. Grot: Karpato-dunajskija zemli v sud'bach slavianstva, 1905, str. 18.

legacy of the brothers of Saloniki — as fittingly expressed by Daniel Lauček — prepared among the Russians national unity by means of Church unity. [1] The Czech ruler, Prince Borivoj, was baptized by Methodius in the court of Svätopluk; among Borivoj's successors Slavonic literature took root in Bohemia and also reached the Poles; but owing to the proximity with the Germanic world the Slavonic Church and Slavonic literature survived neither among the Slovaks and Czechs, nor among the Poles. It is true, in the Church terminology of us all, Slovaks, Czechs and Poles, to this day traces of the language (for instance the word "Hospodin") which the holy apostles had introduced into our ecclesiastic life, were preserved. It is worth mentioning, that of all the other Slavs, the teachings of the Slav apostles did not reach — neither during their lifetime, nor later through their disciples — a single tribe of the Baltic and Polabian Slavs, and of all the Slavs just these latter perished in the struggle of life and religion which they waged with the Germans.

When Emperor Michael in Constantinople had learned what was at stake, what kind of

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1) D. Z. Lauček: Sv. Cyrill a Method, apoštolovia slovanskí, 1885, pg. 70. — See also V. Jagić, Archiv für slavische Philologie, XX, pg. 27.

apostles Rastislav desired, he at once decided to entrust with this task Constantine, the philosopher, who had distinguished himself in apostolic work before, at first alone and later with his brother Methodius. The messengers said to the Emperor: "We are Slovenes —", i. e., they desired teachers of the Christian faith whom they could understand. The brothers Constantine and Methodius, as natives of Saloniki (in Thessalonika) were suited even from this point for the mission among the Slavs: they knew Slavonic. Emperor Michael, having them summoned, told the brothers: "You are from Saloniki, and all Salonikans speak pure Slavonic." [1] The brothers, however, did not want to come empty-handed to Rastislav's nation and Constantine, having learned from the messengers that the Slovenes-Slovaks did not have their own script, in the first place contemplated suitable script. In the words of the legend, the Slavonic script had been revealed by God to the meditating, contemplating, worried and praying Constantine.

And indeed it is such an achievement that we can be proud of it. Constantine proceeded from the Greek script, but Slavonic sounds, especially in the ninth century, greatly varied

1) "Vy bo jesta Solunianina, da Soluniane vsi čisto slověnsky besědująt." Žitie Metoda, kap. V.

with the Greek, therefore new signs, new characters were needed. And Constantine placed it on such a basis that the more Indo-European linguistics develops, the more admirable becomes his creation. [1)]

Even today, if doubt arises in any Slavonic language over the correct spelling of some word, information is sought in Cyril's orthography. And even in this respect can we Slovaks have the great satisfaction that without our Rastislav he (Cyril) would not have had the opportunity to assert his phenomenal talent. Had not the Slovak messengers come to Constantinople, what more could have Constantine accomplished there? At first he had been used in Constantinople to bring to reason the iconoclasts, then to convert to Christ the Mohamedan Sarazens and the pagan Khazars; had not the Slovak messengers appeared there, Constantine, in all likelihood, would have continued in that activity, or he would have remained in the monastery into which he had retired for a life of tranquility.People of phenomenal mental gifts need a field for their activity. Our Rasti-

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1) Die Grösze des Werkes hat man früher kaum recht empfinden können, aber gerade in der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft .... musz der Grammatiker Konstantin Bewunderung erregen." A. Leskien: Grammatik der altbulgarischen (altkirchen-slavischen) Sprache. Heidelberg, 1919, pg. XXI.

slav will also be remembered in the world-historic work of Cyril.

In 1885 when Slavdom celebrated the millenial memorial of the death of Methodius, a Russian historian asked: "What was Slavdom prior to Cyril and Methodius?" and answered: "Scattered over the vast spaces of middle Europe, Russia and the Balkan Peninsula, among foreign and hostile nations, although a race gifted by nature with beautiful spiritual endowments, the Slav race represented a torn, disjointed mass of different tribes without any consciousness of racial relationship...."

The brothers from Saloniki appear on the stage of Slavonic history in the middle of the ninth century, "strong in mind and profoundly permeated with the consciousness of their sacred calling, namely, to furnish the Slavs with Christian culture", and in a comparatively short time thereafter there is an entirely different life among the Slavs. [1)]

The Russian philologist Shakhmatoff explained that the Russian race in the ninth century was broken up in a multitude of tribes. The tribes among themselves remained in substance closely related, but lived separately; for that reason they differed in morals and in

1) Konstantin Grot: Mefodijevskij jubilejnij sbornik, Varšava, 1885, pg. 5.

customs and had their individual dialects. Had they lived longer without any connecting mediums, complete individualization would have sprung up among them and a multitude of conflicting dialects would have developed. But owing to the events of the tenth century an organization of state was created among the Russian tribes which united them in a political, cultural and religious unit. In the eleventh century the body of state, created by Vladimir and his descendents, became stabilized: it consisted of all Russian lands with the exception of Galicia and Polocka, which were differently situated geographically. In the twelfth century the dialects of these latter already had their typical peculiarities.[1] — Thus, Shakhmatoff attributed the important fact that a great nation was created out of the Russian tribes to the unifying power of the state. Jagić, of course, also acknowledged the importance of the political factor in the creation of unity in speech, but not agreeing fully with Shakhmatoff's explanation, he wrote, that "in Russia, in the fortification and preservation of unity, the main credit belongs not so much to its political power as it belongs to *the great cultural and linguistic unifying effects of the Church and*

1) Russkij filologičeskij Viestnik, 1894, 3, pg. 1.

the unified Church-Slavonic language."[1] In his great work of 1900 and 1913 Jagić also mentioned Ulfilas, who translated the Holy Scriptures into the language of the Goths in the fourth century. True enough, that was five hundred years earlier; and yet — says Jagić — what a difference is there between Ulfilas and the Slavonic apostles! The work of Ulfilas was for a narrow circle, the Goths alone, with whom it also went into extinction; the work of Cyril and Methodius extended from Moravia and Panonia, "from the heart of western Slavdom", first South, to the Croatians and Serbs, thence to the Bulgars, and in the mean time the Slavonic Church brought also the Russian nation into the fold of Christianity. The work of Ulfilas perished; in the language resulting from the work of the Slav apostles over one hundred million people serve God.[2]

* * *

I cannot refrain from mentioning two more names. When our apostles journeyed to Rome in 867, they sojourned in Blatno, in the residential castle in Trans-Danubia, where Pribina's son Kocel' ruled. Pribina had caused the already mentioned church in Nitra to be built

1) Archiv für slavische Philologie. XX. pg. 28.
2) Entstehungsschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache, 1913, pg. 2, 3.

— the first Christian church among all the western Slavs; but to unite a nation and form a country and state was only possible by violating the power of the tribal rulers. Mojmír I., predecessor of Rastislav, drove Pribina out of Nitra for that reason. Pribina procured a fief in Trans-Danubia from Louis the German and selected a residence in the castle beyond Blatno (Mosaburg), and there he continued in what he had commenced in Nitra — the building of churches. Since then that country had more such churches. His son and successor, Kocel' continued in this spirit: he built churches and spread Christianity. Kocel' was somewhat in a quandary when the missionaries from the court of Devín came unexpectedly to him. The rulers of Devín had greatly wronged his father! What were people from thence looking for with him? *But the apostles Constantine and Methodius needed only to show him the Slavonic script and the Slavonic books, and they were dear and welcome to Kocel'. He felt great joy.* He became very fond of Slavonic books, studied from them and appointed fifty disciples to the apostles. He kept the distinguished guests for some time and then escorted them with great honors on their journey to Venetia, respectively to Rome.

But let us not even forget Zemižízň. The

journey to Rome of the apostle Methodius in 880, in the main a very important matter, is given a national coloring in the person of Methodius' escort, the Slovak Zemižízň. Owing to what he found about him in historic sources, Ján Hollý, in his epic (Svätopluk) places Zemižízň as one of the most important persons. In council Zemižízň distinguishes himself by his penetrating reason and determination, in battles it is as if the earth rocked wherever he appeared.... Thus the poet, but we believe that in reality he was an extraordinary man. To all appearance, Zemižízň is still his pagan name; he was very likely baptized in adult age and therefore could journey, as his ruler's confidant on such an important mission to Rome, to the pope, with apostle Methodius, that educated, refined Byzantian! He is also mentioned in the pope's letter, although it was found difficult in Rome to pronounce his name. (The letter mentioned: Semisisnus, or rather the dative: Semisisno.)

II.

THE SLOVAKS AFTER THE DOWNFALL OF GREATER MORAVIA.

We do not know how the downfall of Greater Moravia occurred and the fate of the Slovaks, particularly in the tenth century, remains obscure.

Borivoj, prince of Bohemia, had yielded to the sovereignty of Greater Moravia, but his sons Spytihnev and Vratislav immediately after the death of Svätopluk renounced this condition and acknowledged German sovereignty. Thus was marred the unity which had begun to take shape during Svätopluk's reign. [1]

The Slovaks and Czechs left their Trans-Carpathian land of origin about the same time

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1) V. Novotný in his "České Dějiny" (pg. 421) considers it natural that the nations who were subjected to Svätopluk endeavored to rid themselves of the Greater Moravian sovereign after his death. He also remarks that "the Czechs set the first example." Somewhat farther (pg. 425) speaking of the discord among the brothers, the sons of Svätotpluk, he admits the possibility that the younger Svätopluk, "aided by the Czechs . . . . entered into an alliance with the German prince Arnulf against his brother Mojmír."

and the one came to their historic settlement, Bohemia, from the Vistula by way of the Oder River, the others over the western Carpathian Mountains to the Danube. L'ubor Niederle, in his "Slovanské Starožitnosti" which are a continuation of Šafárik's work of the same name, explains that the center of the Slovak language originated in the closest coherence with the Czech center, with which, moreover, many linguistic transits unite it.[1] "The linguistic differentiation between the Czechs and the Slovaks — further says Niederle — became more pronounced after the complete development of these languages, especially after the Slovaks came permanently under different political conditions and were separated from their other tribal relatives by the breastwork of the western Carpathian Mountains",[2] which means that after they had separated in their land of origin they never came together again. Greater Moravia of Mojmír, Rastislav and Svätopluk in the ninth century was Slovak and alongside of it a separate Czech state was in the process of formation, dependent on Greater Moravia only during the second half of Svätopluk's reign. Czechs and Slovaks began rapproach-

1) In this place it would only be necessary to express the relation of Slovak and Czech to the Polish language, as one western Slav language to another.

2) L. Niederle: Slovanské Starožitností, III. pg. 183.

ments during the reign of Svätopluk, but those were marred by the sons of Borivoj. At the same time, in order to clarify matters — it is necessary to keep in mind that in the tenth century, when the Slovaks came to be thus separated from the Czechs, no nations existed among the Slavs as yet. As nations even the Poles and Russians are later formations. In the ninth century the tribes of the subsequent Polish nation called themselves Vistulians (Vislans), after the river Visla, Mazovians, Polans, Silenians, etc. The strongest tribe, the Polans, united the others only later into the Polish nation.[3] Nor did the name Russian exist in the ninth century.

The first nation among the tribes of the Eastern and Western Slavs began to form during the reign of Mojmír I., Rastislav and Svätopluk. That was marred, and when later, already under the influence of Christianity, nations began to form among the Slavs the Slovaks were already separated from the Czechs by a new form of state.

On the other hand, in trying to find how closely related Slovaks and Czechs were in the ancient times, much light is gained from topographical names in Slovakia and Bohemia, if properly studied. Experts in Bohemia, anal-

3) Encyklopedya Polska, IV, pg. 2.

yzing topographical names of these territories, are helpless with the name Přestavlky — it is so unusual, having no parallel among the Slavs. But in Slovakia, in Tekov County, we also have Prestavlky. The Czech Kosmas, a chronicler of the twelfth century, tells of Krok and his three daughters Kaza, Teta and Libuša, and of Tetín castle, which Teta is said to have built; and of Libušín castle, which Libuša, his youngest daughter, is alleged to have built. Aye, Libuša is also alleged to have built a castle on the Vltava river, which castle, from her crossing over its threshold for the first time, was given the name: Praha (Prague) — from threshold — prah. So far so good, the only misfortune for Kosmas' "history" is that on Slovak territory beneath the Carpathians, on the Šajava river, the Danube and in Novohrad, we Slovaks have all these names as names of settlements. From Mt. Matra westerly, in Boršod County, on the Šajava, on territory previously occupied by the Slovaks, and to this day covered with Slovak topographical names, there is not only a *Kaza,* but also a Kazinec. [1] Of course, where there is a Kazinec, there also was a Kazín, for without the one there could

1) This other is pronounced in Magyar: Kazinc; for the double suffix -inec in Slovak topographical names is persistently pronounced -inc in Magyar.

not have been the other. Beyond the Danube, from Ostrihom to Budín, there is also *Tetín*. Since the thirteenth century the community is occupied by Germans who call it Teting (as Bazín is called Bösing, Hodonín — Göding, Modlín — Mödling); the Magyars call it Tétény. In upper Zemplín, not far from Humenné is L'ubiša (in Czech: Libuša) and in Novohrad, not far from Halič — *Praha*. Of course, as here Kaza, Kazinec, Tetín, Ľubiša have no coherence with Krok's daughters, neither has the Slovak Praha in Novohrad any connection with Libuša. Praha in Novohrad did not derive its name from that source, by Krok's daughter crossing over its new threshold. In addition to what the Slavist Alexander Brückner said against Kosmas' "history", namely, that Kosmas invented the names of Krok's daughters after topographical names in Bohemia, and that these daughters and their father Krok never existed — it is necessary to place also these topographical Slovak names from the Carpatho-Danubian lands, and it will no longer be possible to accept Kosmas' legends in Czech history. Had Kosmas known that there are also such places beyond the frontiers of Bohemia, on territory occupied by the Slovaks, he would not have spoken of Kaza, Teta and Libuša.

It is admitted that Kosmas recorded ancient national tales and folklore which still prevailed in his time. Let us, therefore, look to his tale about Vlastislav, prince of Lucko, in Bohemia. Allegedly, this brave Vlastislav was in search of battles, on account of which his neighbors did not like him. But prince Neklan put the brave Čestmír in battle against him, and Vlastislav lost his life in a bloody contest. According to Kosmas that could have been about the second half of the eighth century. But in the eighth century the name Vlastislav was impossible, because the word *vlast'* — government, does not exist in the language of the Western Slavs. Even the Germans use *Vaterland* only since the second half of the eleventh century.[1] Palacký was worried because "he could scarcely" answer the question where the principality of Lucko had been located in Bohemia, when it originated, and how long it lasted.[2] An answer in that respect is indeed

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1) Schrader: Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde, pg. 792. (Caption: State) "Ausdrücke wie deutsch 'Vaterland' (zuerst im späteren Althochdeutsch) . . . sind wohl sicherst Nachbildungen nach lat, patria. The Germans used the late Althochdeutsch in the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century; in Bohemia Kosmas, who lived until 1125, or the first quarter of the twelfth century, certainly was the first to write the word vlasť in the proper names Vlastislav and Vlasta.

2) Dějiny, I. I. (1876), pg. 109.

impossible, for just as prince Vlastislav is an invention, so will also his "Lucko" be one.[2] And just as the Czech Vastislav was an impossibility in the eighth century, so was — prior to Vlastislav — the Czech Vlasta impossible. Kosmas had placed Vlasta at the head of those Czech Amazons whom he had wage a war of seven years duration against the men. In the Czech language of the eighth century the name Vlasta was also impossible.[3] Kosmas, a man not without poetical talent, was a master in the invention of tales; only he was unfortunate in the choice of names. The names in the tales are betraying him.

Czech history can be only explained since the last third of the ninth century, since Borivoj, already a Christian ruler, just as Slovak history begins with the first third of the ninth century, with Mojmír and Pribina of Nitra — with the Christian church in Nitra (the first among the western Slavs). Here and there the light of history begins only with the adoption of Christianity.[4]

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2) Palacký, although he could in no wise comprehend what this Lucko was, a few lines farther says, that after the battle in which Vlastislav was killed, "the principality of Lucko was again added to that of Prague" pg. 109.

3) The origin of the word VLASŤ — patria, leads us also to the fact that the other Slavs call it otčina. It is a fabrication.

4) The beginnings of Czech history, concerning the period of Samo, are confused, both by Palacký and Novotný.

But let us return to the Slavonic Church, which after the downfall of Greater Moravia survived in Bohemia. The Slavonic script was dear not only to princess L'udmila, the widow of Borivoj, but also to her grandson Václav, but the proximity of the Germans was detrimental. The Latin bishopric of Prague was founded (in 973) and Slavonic worship in Bohemia gradually ceased. It survived only until the eleventh century in the monastery of Sázava.

Expelled from Sázava in the year 1055,

Samo, if Fredegard's veracity stands the test (for there is no other source about Samo) remains an historic person. He fought victoriously in the seventh century at the head of the Slavs against the Avars and founded for them (the Slavs) a state. But which Slavs these were Fredegard does not plainly mention. It had become a custom to write that Samo came to Bohemia and with the Czechs opposed the Avars, and after the breaking of Avar power in Bohemia founded, allegedly, a great Slavonic realm. But, in the first place, the Avars were far enough away from Bohemia — in Panonia — and from thence eastward and westward; the Czechs did not suffer from them to such an extent that there would have been cause in Bohemia to organize a war against the Avars. Secondly, is it possible that the Czechs, who with Samo had thus entered upon the stage of history, would after his death — as Palacký, Novotný and others teach — again have had the "era of fable" with Krok, Libuša and the descendents of Priemysl? If once the untenability of Kosmas' tales about Krok, Kaza, Teta, Libuša and Priemysl is shown, it will be necessary to go one step farther and omit also Samo from Czech history.

It suffices to correctly differentiate the names VIND and VEND, and the history of Samo becomes lucid. The Germans who lived between the Carpathian Mountains and the middle Danube called their Slovak neighbors persistently Vinds, never Vends. (In the topographic names Windischdorf — Nová

the Czech Slavonic monks retired to Hungary, but if to Hungary then they surely went to a Slovak monastery, for a Latin monastery would have scarcely sheltered monks persecuted on account of the Slavonic ritual, and if in a Slovak monastery, then it was surely in Upper Hungary, in Slovakia; thus we would have evidence about the duration of Slavonic worship among the Slovaks. In the analysis of the Church-Sla-

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Ves Tekovská, Windischdorf in Spiš — Slovenská Ves, Windschacht at Banská Štiavnica; in writings, for instance: "Item dem Windischen Prediger zu seiner Hochzeit ein Ehrung geschenkt von uns — in 1583, Municipal Minutes of Štítnik.) In the same manner were the Slovenes always called Vinds, but never Vends, by their German neighbors, in Hungary, beyond the Danube, in Styria and in the neighboring Austrian lands; in the topographical names it is persistently Windisch (in Styria Windisch-Grätz, in Tyrol Windisch-Matrei, etc.) After the German fashion the Magyars long ago had become accustomed to call the Slovaks and the Slovenes one name: Tót. In the Trans-Danubian counties in Železná, Zalanská, and their vicinities the Slovene settlements have prefixes Tót (Tót-Keresztúr, Tót-Keszi) in the Magyar language; as for instance in Slovakia, in Rimava there is Tót-Pokrágy, Tót-Hegymeg. The Magyars are calling Slavonia, whose inhabitants up to the Turkish catastrophe of the sixteenth century had been Slovenic, to the present day: Tótország.

The Germans had long ago the name of Vinds for the Slovenes on the right bank of the Danube, downstream, and for the Slovene-Slovaks; and in contradiction to it they persistently called the Slavs on the left bank of the Danube (except the Slovaks) up to the North: Vends. Fredegard, who is the only source for the history of Samo, also calls them thus. (As with Fredegard so with other ancient German sources, wherever the Slavs are not differentiated in that manner, it is likely an error — a mistake of the transcriber.) In our question about Samo it is only necessary thus to tell the difference between the names Vind and Vend (that is, when Fredegard speaks of

vonic texts, such as we have from the eleventh and twelfth century, there is talk about "Slovakisms", i. e., expressions in these texts, originating with the Slovaks, in which we would also have eloquent testimony that the Slavonic ritual was of duration among the Slovaks.[1] To such texts which could have come from Slovakia belongs also the famous Rheims (Remeš) Gospel, for more than two centuries, up to the French Revolution, guarded as "text du sacre" in the Coronation Cathedral of Rheims, in this sanctum of the French Nation, and a

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Vinds there cannot be meant the Czechs) and it will be found that Samo did not fight WITH THE CZECHS against the Avars, but in Carinthia, Styria and generally on the other bank of the Danube with the Slovenes, of whom many more were in the seventh century than there are now, just as there were more Slovaks in the memorable ninth century than there were later, especially in the eighteenth century.

1) A. I. Sobolevskij (Cerkevno-Slavianskie teksty moravskago proischoždenie, Varšava, 1900) showed quite a number of such Church-Slavonic texts which seemed to him of Moravian (:: Slovak) origin, but shortly afterward he had a different opinion about the majority of them. The insufficient knowledge of Slovak is of serious consequences in such questions. In the whole nineteenth century, so important for Slavonic philology, not one person was found who could have applied himself to a thorough study of our Slovak language. Šafárik was enamoured with it, but life's fate diverted him from it. He was born on the south-eastern border of our territory where the dialect is mixed and transitory; he went to school in Rožňava, Dobšina and Kežmark. When he returned from the German university there was no bread for him in Slovakia — he sought refuge among the Serbs in Nový Sad (in 1819), from there he came to Prague (in 1833). It is evident from his "Slovanský národopis" (1842), called "the golden book", that he was very little acquainted with the

legend about it has taken root, that the French kings, at the coronation, took their oath upon it. (After Pogorielov's study more light will be thrown on the subject.)

Magyar history teaches of a "pagan" rebellion in Hungary shortly after the death of St. Stephen, i. e., in the first half of the eleventh century. Stephen's son Imrich died during the lifetime of his father and the contests over the heir to the throne were so acute at the court that the young members of the royal family, Andrew, Bela and Levanta fled to relatives in Bohemia and Poland. The party which favored Peter, a nephew of Stephen, and a tool of Ger-

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middle Slovak dialect. Out of the Slovak generation subsequent to Šafárik, Martin Hattala became devoted to the study of his native language, but immediately afterwards he was pulled down in the same manner as had been Šafárik. In the beginning of our century (the twentieth) Samuel Cambel began very promising work (by a thorough record of the dialects), but he died — having given us only a glimpse of what he had intended. The Slovak language is important for Slavonic philology by reason of the geographic location of its territory which connects it, besides with the Czech language also with Polish and Russian, and in the past had connected it with the South-Slavonic languages; yet Miklosić, the great Slavonic grammarian elaborated his great, four-volume comparative grammar of Slavonic languages without the use of the Slovak language — of which he had no particular knowledge. In Slavistics, along with Miklosić and after him, for fifty years Jagić was in the lead, but if he should have had to quote three Slovak words, one out of those three would have been quoted wrongly. Jagić knew very little Slovak. A fine task awaits the learned people of the next generation. For this reason I can state that the last word on such relics of Church-Slavonic literature has not yet been spoken.

man politics, was victorious. But shortly afterwards a rebellion broke out in the country, called in Magyar chronicles the *rebellion of the pagans,* the rebellion of the pagan Hungarians. The party of the malcontents (the pagans) summoned Andrew and his brothers to come home. Magyar history teaches that the party rose in the East of the country in behalf of "paganism" against Christianity, headed by Vata, about whom the following record has been preserved: "Vata de Castro Belus." They assembled at Aba-Novohrad and then went to meet Andrew and his brothers, exclaiming and shouting: "Down with Peter and his Germans and Italians." But Vata de Castro Belus was scarcely a Magyar. There are circumstances proving that Slavs, Slovaks were in revolt — and it was not against Christianity.

Slovak historians have explained that it was a fight of the Slavs who adhered to the Eastern Church against Latinity. Only, in this movement and fight it was not a matter of faith and its confession. It was rather a national, a racial fight. The Slovaks threw themselves upon the Germans. On the other bank of the Danube ruled Stephen, the son of a Polish princess — baptized by and a disciple of the Czech Vojtech, archbishop of Prague — who later married a German, the Bavarian princess

Gisela. Germans followed her in large numbers to Ostrihom, into the Trans-Danubian lands, which were occupied by the Magyars. Later, especially after the death of Boleslav the Brave of Poland (1025), an uncle of St. Stephen, when the state with its seat in Ostrihom began to extend to this side of the Danube (the left side) his Germans also expanded their influence thither and made themselves despised. The Magyars had only made a scouting expedition to the lower Danube, but in 892 the Germans began to operate with them against the Slavs, against Greater Moravia; since the time of St. Stephen — since his marriage, they fraternized again. In the days of Vata of Beluš there could have existed among the Slovaks an anti-German tradition, rooted in them since the glorious days of Greater Moravia of Rastislav and Svätopluk. A movement against the Germans could have easily originated and later, incited by circumstances, grown into an acute fight. The question of faith may have been a side issue, but only that. And inasmuch as this moment became obvious as time passed the chroniclers confused the Eastern Church with the Eastern party of the country. Pauler says that the Vata-partisans, called "pagans" in Magyar history, could have been domiciled north-westerly of Mt. Matra, in Boršod County,[1] where a village

called Vata exists to the present day. It is elucidating that at that time Slovak settlements — as is shown in the topographic nomenclature of today — extended to the western outposts of Mt. Matra.

Indeed, faith could have been a side issue, but the movement itself and the fight was directed against the Germans. The slogan of the rebels was: "Down with Peter (the King, Gisela's henchman) and his Germans!" They sought out the Germans, beat them, killed them or drove them away. When the waves of the rebellion surged as far as Budín, their bishops Beneta, Bed, Bestered and Gellert went there. As is evidenced even from the unreliable way of the spelling of the names, the first three were Slavs, the fourth a German, but all were Latin bishops. Had passion, ignited by pagan sentiment had the upper hand among the rebels, they certainly would have thrown themselves upon all four without consideration. The same would have happened if those passions had flared up for the sake of faith.

The rebels of the old faith, or rather the Slavonic faith, would have destroyed all four Latin bishops. But they laid hands only on the German. Only Gellert, the German, lost his life.

1) A Magyar nemzet története, I. pg. 423.

Just as it is impossible to claim that Vata, the lord of Beluš castle, would have desired to force a return of paganism by a rebellion of himself and his adherents, in the same sense is it impossible to find in their rebellion even a trace that they rose against Latinity and in behalf of the Slavonic Church.

After the fall of Greater Moravia everything is obscure in Slovakia, and by incorrect and often tendencious explanations of some of the reports much more of that obscurity has been caused. If we travel by railway below Trenčín, it is very pleasant to look across the Váh river where from the foot of the hill the ruins of ancient Skalka [1] seem to call to us. Together with it (Skalka) was preserved the pleasant tradition about the Slovak hermits Svorad (Zoerad) and Benedik, who had connections with Sobor and Nitra. It seems there had been a Slovak monastery at Skalka, but nothing certain can be found. Every legend, every tradition became lost in darkness. Historic evidences were lost in the adverse days. [2]

About the Sub-Carpathian Russians it had been taught that they arrived on this side of the Carpathians with the Magyars who had

1) Ruins, which are now renovated.

2) Our archives met with cruel fates. I mention Nitra as an example. In 1241 the Tartars did not dare to attack the

been as far as Kieff; but — as already mentioned — had that been the case, had they lived here since the ninth century, they could not have been given the name *Russians*. The Eastern Slavs, the Russians of today, during the ninth century and quite some time thereafter, were still called by their tribal names. Rurik's people, from whom in the course of time they got the name Russians came to them only in the second half of the ninth century. Even around 950 Constantine Porphyrogenetos gives the name of Russians only to the Scandinavian Northmen of Rurik, and differentiates the Slavs from them. How could our Sub-Carpathian

castle, but destroyed many manuscripts beyond the city, in the abbey of Zobor. Not long afterwards, during the wars of Hungary with Priemysl Otakar II. Nitra was twice visited with destruction. On both occasions (in 1271 and in 1273) Otakar's armies took Nitra and set fire to both, the city and the castle with the church. The bishop and the clergy of the chapter saved themselves by flight during this second calamity (in 1273), but the castle burnt down and with the church a large part of the episcopal and capitular archives perished. Afterwards Matúš of Trenčín, in his war against Charles Robert (whom the bishop of Nitra supported) caused Nitra to be burnt twice, and with the castle burnt the church and the archives. And even this was not the last destruction. In 1605 Nitra was seized by Bočkay's army and all the records up to 1520 vanished from the capitular archives. In the North of Slovakia, in Spišské Podhradie, they also took care of a part of the district archives besides the capitular archive, but even there things went wrong during the Tartar catastrophe. Again, in 1443, when Jiskra's army approached, the capitular archive was moved together with the archive of the district — as a precaution. But that was wrong again: during the fight the castle burnt down. Thus things occurred all over Slovakia.

Russians have obtained their name had they lived in Slovakia in the ninth century? They already brought their name and faith with them, i. e., they came at a time when there, beyond the Carpathians, along the Dnieper and the surrounding plains their present name had become customary.

The Slovenes, from whom were derived those frequent topographic Slavonic names beneath the Carpathians, eastward from Mt. Matra, in the territory beyond the Tisa and in Transylvania, began to move southward, below the Danube, into the Balkan Peninsula, in the seventh century; they are the present Bulgar nation. But here (in Slovakia) they left behind indelible traces in that beautiful nomenclature. In the uplands, beneath the Carpathians, is *Mun*kač and *Ung* left after these Slavs, after whom *Dum*brava, *Lun*ka and *Mun*dra are left in Transylvania. In the uplands Bodrok is the name of a river, in the lowlands the name of a castle, and it remained the name of a county; in the lowlands Zemlín (the name of a town) is the same as that of the county, Zem(p)lín in the uplands. And all this rich nomenclature, asserting itself on all sides, is given its stamp of verity by the river Topľa, showing together with Zem(p)lín that this nomenclature is not derived from the western Slavs, but from the

southern. From the West to Mt. Matra and to the Topľa river up to the city of Zemplín [1] mountains, rivers and all noteworthy places had been named by the western Slavs, or *our Slovak ancestors,* from thence eastward by the Slovenes of whom sprang the present-day Bulgars. The Sub-Carpathian Russians came into lands already strewn with Slav names, and they came late, for those names had been adopted also by non-Slavs, and the Russians had neither the necessity nor the opportunity of giving names after their manner, in their language.

This is our most thorough knowledge, gained from the archive whose documents are the mountains and waters, and various noteworthy places of our country. [2]

There could not have been any Russians

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1) In 1332 it was still Zemlín.

2) Thus explains it also A. Sobolevskij in Živa Starina, 1894, pg. 524. Anton Budilovič "K voprosu o plemennych otnošeniach v Ugorskej Rusi" (S.-Petersburg 1904) leans to the standpoint of A. Dobrianskij who brought the settlements of the Russians in western Sub-Carpathia up to Kráľova Hoľa. (Žurnal min.nar.prosvieščenia, CCVIII, II, 159) Budilovič and Dobrianskij were misled by Šumiac, Telgart and Vernár, three Russian settlements in the region of the upper Hron in Gemer county. They considered these settlements remnants of older, scattered Russian settlements. But Šumiac, Telgart and Vernár are settlements of more recent origin — they were not extant in the second half of the fifteenth century. (Csánky: Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában, I. pg. 121.)

on this side of the Carpathians.[2] A considerable part of our topographic names from the Topľa river eastward show by their stamp of language that the Slovaks had lived there before the Russians.

But, how about the Slovak monasteries beneath the Eastern Carpathians, which we find mentioned in the various sources of the tenth to the twelfth centuries? Were they Slovak or Russian? Were they Russian Slavonic or Slovak Slavonic? They could not have been Russian or Russian Slavonic if there weren't any Russian inhabitants in those parts yet. And let us even assume that they were Russian, that Russians had lived in those parts before the twelfth century; when did they get their Slavonic ritual? It could not have reached them from beyond the Eastern Carpathians, from Russia. It could have been brought there only from this side, from the Slovaks, by Slovak teachers — Slovak missionaries. From that would evolve *that the Slovaks could not have had a Slavonic Church at least before the twelfth century.*

In a monograph of Šariš county,[3] the

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2) Jagić (Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache, 1913, pg. 105) places the origin of the Rheims Gospel into the twelfth century and into the Sub-Carpatho Russian part of this country — erroneously, as can be seen.

3) Sáros vármegye monografiája, III, pg. 233. (1912.)

author, Alexander Tóth, also noted that a Slovak monastery stood in Legnava (Hosszuvágás) from the tenth century until the Tartar catastrophe. If that was the case, then it could have been only for Slovaks. From the Tatra Mountains eastward to about the Topľa, up to Zem(p)lín, the first Slavonic population, although not dense, was Slovak.[2] Poles and Russians came only later through the passes of the Carpathians. The history of the Polish settlements in Spiš and Orava is generally known — these settlements are not old.

In the new state along the middle Danube, beginning with the time of St. Stephen, all circumstances greatly favored the Latin Church, and yet, in Slovakia one can trace the life of the Slavonic ritual, though it is a modest and retired life, for several centuries. During the first hundred years after their appearance along the Danube the Magyars had greatly yielded to Slav influence. The mother of St. Stephen was a Polish princess; his own name at first had been Waic, or rather Voic, the well known Slavonic Voik; the sons of his uncle were called Vasil and Vladislav. The Christian terminology of the Magyar language is purely Slavonic: kerest, kerestyés, keresztel, szent

2) Ascertained about Spiš by an analysis of the local Slovak language by F. Pastrnek (Slovenské Pohľady, 1893, pg. 434.)

(svęt), barát (brat), karácsony (kračún), szereda, csütörtök, péntek, parázna, bálvány, pokol, etc. From such words one can readily recognize the source of the beginning of Christianity among the Magyars. But having a German wife, Stephen opened the door to the Germans and brought them into the country. At the same time conditions favored the western Church, which in those days developed an unusual expansive force. It was just after the reformation of the monastic orders and the pope and the emperor worked in great accord on the project of their Church commencing the long prepared fight in the East against the pagans and Mohamedans, liberate the Holy Land and save the sepulchre of Christ by a crusade of the western nations. This spirit had been introduced and emphasized to the court of Ostrihom by such a zealot as was Vojtech, the archbishop of Prague. And in this new state on the middle Danube the victory of the Latin Church over the Slavonic was decided and safely secured.

The historians later imagined they knew everything; only here and there something confronted them which was not quite clear. But suddenly, in the nineteenth century, in Gemer, people began to tell that during the renovation of the churches, both Catholic and

Protestant, pictures and inscriptions of the Slavonic Church became visible under the top layer of lime. (For instance near Štítnik, in Gecelovce, in a church which is Protestant since the second half of the sixteenth century, and which had been considered Roman Catholic from the time of its foundation until then. In the Catholic church in Chýžnô, between Revúca and Jelšava, Samuel Tomášik identified an Orthodox baptismal font.) About Šariš county one can read in the already quoted monograph published in 1912: "How widely spread the Greek Catholic faith had been in the churches of the Latin rites of today can be proven by the whitewashed and recently revealed inscriptions and wall paintings." [1)]

We have also a written relic from Gemer, for the vicinity of Muráň and Štítnik, confirming such evidence of church walls, respectively their paintings. In 1585 the lords of Muráň issued eighteen articles, as rules for the Evangelical churches on the lands of the lordships. (The articles were signed by Julius Herberstein, imperial supreme captain of Muráň castle.) Shortly thereafter, in 1591, the Muráň articles were also adopted by and issued for the vicinity of Štítnik. The articles contain instructions, warnings and injunctions. One can

1) Sáros vármegye monografiája, III, pg. 136.

see from them what kind of a fight the Church had waged against the ancient customs. For instance, article 12 reads, that: On Whitsunday it shall be forbidden to set up kings [1] or arrange dances; in article 5 is a warning to those who would place fire in the street in front of the homes on St. John's day."

And article [2] 4 reads: "Blessing or conjuring [3] of all kinds of things, such as salt, oats, fire, storm candles, wine, herbs, plants, ham should be but lightly observed, because God Almighty has created everything well and after him no one will make them better."

This is contrary to the custom preserved in the Eastern Church. The Easter celebration in the Eastern Church commences with the blessing of cakes (koláč) (kulič among the Russians) and other food (on the Paschal night). But if it was necessary to issue such a rule in 1585 and 1591 for the Protestant churches of

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1) It was customary in the Slovak villages to erect maypoles on the first day of May. These maypoles, mostly young birch or pine trees, were stripped of most of their branches, the top or crown only remaining, and these tops or crowns were decorated with bright colors and fancy ribbons. Around these maypoles (which incidentally were remnants of pagan days) dances were held, hence the injuction by the Church. (Translator.)

2) From the text book of Ladislav Bartolomeides, "Memorabilia provinciae Csetnek", 1799, pg. 218.

3) Paul Tomášek: Paměti Jelšavské a Muránské, 1829, pg. 129.

the Muráň and Štítnik district of Gemer, then it is proof positive *that in that part even then, at the end of the sixteenth century, the customs left by the Eastern Church were alive and deeply rooted.* Indeed, such a rule or injuction proves that even the Protestant clergy then officiated that rite in church. Without the clergy the blessing of Easter food was impossible. These customs could be only kept up with their participation.

It could be imagined that in some manner there was a connection with Russian proximity; the Russians living in Sub-Carpathia are close neighbors of this part of Gemer since the twelfth century. The Evangelical villages of the vicinity of Štítnik could be considered being Slovakized Russians. [2] But this would be an error. These villages in Gemer could not have been Russian, in the first place because the Russians did not become converted to the Protestant faith; in the second place, in all the villages of Gemer (as well as in those above mentioned in Šariš) the language, ancient rules, customs, songs, legends and dress most reliably prove that their inhabitants are Slovaks to the very core. [3]

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2) A. J. Dobrianskij in his quoted article declared the Slovaks of Gemer to be Russians.

3) ".... the inhabitants of those parts (Štítnik in Gemer) even now swear "May Parom kill you", light St. John's fires,

The historian of Šariš county, Alexander Tóth, when speaking of church walls with pictures of the Eastern Church rites, adds: "Certain it is that in our country, especially in the North East, during the time of the leaders (i. e., after Arpád, until St. Stephen, or better said, in the tenth century) many Greek monasteries were founded. [1] Of course, they were not founded by the Magyars, who were still pagans in the tenth century, but by a nation whose history is known from the ninth century and among whom the holy apostles Cyril and Methodius had been active.) [2] In the tenth century the Magyars were still on the other bank of the Danube and along the lower Tisa, and North of them lived our Slovak ancestors as they had lived in the ninth century under Svätopluk and Rastislav.

The learned people of the new Slovak generation, of whom there will be an ever growing number each year, awaits the task of throwing light on such opaque pages of our past.

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carry out "Morena" and the childrens' favorite play is "Hoja Ďunďa, hoja . ." (Julius Botto, Slov. Pohľady, 1895, pg. 531.)

1) Tóth S. Sáros vármegye . . . III., pg. 228.

2) When mentioning the customs in the life of the people of the vicinity of Štítnik, Julius Botto adds: "The Orthodox Saints, especially Nicholas (Mikuláš) very revered here: to him churches were dedicated. One part of the population has left the Orthodox religion only as a result of the efforts of the dynasty of the Bebek's. (Slov. Pohľady; 1895, pg. 351.) Thus also wrote before Botto Samuel Tomášik, a native of Gemer.

III.

THE HARD LIFE OF THE SLOVAKS SINCE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Since the eleventh century there was no visible evil for the Slovaks in the new state of affairs. Neither by their number nor mentally could the Magyars be a danger to them. But there were many unfavorable circumstances and unfavorable events. Right in the twelfth century, in 1147, the march of the Crusaders under Conrad III. made itself felt in Hungary. Those "knights" did not show on their journey that they were pilgrims led by feelings of devotion; wherever they turned up, they plundered even churches and monasteries. And the Slovaks at that time still had settlements farther down South, in parts which were exposed to that plundering. Afterwards, since the thirteenth century, since the Tartar catastrophe, things began to fare very badly.

The Magyars came in the ninth century to the Tisa and the other bank of the Danube, already under the touch of Slavonic influence.

Their departure from Atelkuz, the present Besarabia, and their approach of the middle Danube was a flight. Hired by the Eastern Emperor Leo, the Magyars fought on the southern side of the Danube against the Bulgars. From thence they succeeded in getting back to Atelkuz, to their settlement, considerably reduced, for they had been defeated by the Bulgarian czar in the last battle. At home, in their settlement they found a frightful condition. While they had been on the southern bank of the Danube, in Bulgaria, the Pechenegs, probably not without the instigation of the Bulgarian czar Simeon, had attacked their settlement in Atelkuz and killed the women, children and the aged. Having found this condition, and in order not to be further exposed to such bad neighbors, the Magyars pulled out of Atelkuz and drove westward, at first along the Dniester river, then farther, to the Tisa and the middle Danube. The historian Francis Salamon, in describing the Magyar catastrophe, wrote that they came to the Tisa and the middle Danube deprived of their families — almost all men — with Slavonic wives and Slavonic mothers.[1] This, however, could have hardly been the case to that extent, because in this situation, surrounded by Slavs, they would have

1) Századok ,1876, pg. 730.

become Slavonicized in the first or second generation.

One way or the other, however, they avoided becoming Slavonicized on the other bank of the Danube, in Panonia, by being converted to the Latin church by the zealous apostolic work of Vojtech of Prague towards the end of the tenth century. [2] And yet, those Magyars converted to the Latin Church became Slavonicized to some extent. [3] In reality they were saved only by other nomads with whom they were tribally related by their following them, for instance the Pechcenegs and the Polovci-Kumans; and refreshed by them and supported by the Latin Church they finally grew powerful enough to preserve their nationality.

The Tartar catastrophe in the thirteenth century was scarcely as terrible in itself as it is rendered in the record of the chronicler Rogerius. The Tartars did kill people, but no one else beside them did; and they returned

2) The last word in history about the activity of St. Vojtěch at the court of Prince Gejza in Ostrihom is still to follow. His biographies on this score are very incomplete; it will be necessary to compile and explain the data preserved in Ostrihom.

3) Remarkable in this respect are the Magyar words recorded in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and preserved in the monastery of Schlägl in Lower Austria. (Szamota István: A schlägli svójegyzék. Budapest, 1894.)

whence they had come. Before the Tartars and after them there came surging in the already mentioned Polovci, and they remained. They were the last wave which was thrown from the East into the territory between the Carpathians and the Danube. They comprised about forty thousand families, and settled in a long belt from Mt. Matra westward up to and beneath Nitra — on the territory from which they pushed the Slovaks upwards, into the mountains. Lower Gemer, the western part of Boršod County, from Kaza, Vadna, Miškovec, almost to Mt. Matra, where to the present day resound Slavonic topographic names, then ceased being settlements of the Slovaks. The same occurred in the zone of lower Novohrad up to Žitný Ostrov. By this colonization of the Polovci (Kumans) one part of the Slovaks — as stated — was pushed upwards, into the mountains, another part again eastward and southward from the zone of the Polovci, remained there, cut off from their own kin — separated. We can also imagine what kind of neighbors the Slovaks got in this horde from the steppes, in a mass of people not yet Christianized. (A considerable part of the Polovci adopted Christianity only in the second half of the following century, during the reign of Louis I.) And as if there were not enough

evil for the Slovaks, German colonization began. The parts which had been laid to waste by the Tartars were to procure a thrifty, cultural element; but the Germans flocked in, invited and uninvited, and the kings, as if from some superstition, even to the point of idiocy, showered liberties and privileges upon them to the detriment of the native population.

The Magyars, though reinforced by elements from the East, who were their racial kin, and for a time separated and protected from the Slavonic Slovaks by the Polovci, still remained exposed to Slovak influence. In accord with the conditions and the necessities of state-life they must have had lively intercourse with the neighboring Slavonic countries, Bohemia, Poland, Russia and Croatia. The dynasty of the Arpáds was in continuous relationship with the ruling families of these Slavonic states from the tenth to the end of the thirteenth centuries. They combined with them through marriage in such a way that one of the Hungarian kings was the son of a Polish princess, another again had for his wife a Slav, a Czech, Pole, Russian, Serb or Croatian woman. Thus it went on for three hundred years. After the extinction of the Arpád dynasty the powerful lord of Upper Hungary, Matúš Čák-Trenčiansky, wanted to unite Hungary and Bohemia by dynastic ties.

He wanted to bring the Czech king Václav II. upon the Hungarian throne. Václav did not accept the offer, but gave Matúš his son, whose name was also Václav, instead. This was immaterial for the plans of Matúš Čák: after the death of Václav II. the Hungarian king Václav would have also succeeded upon the throne of Bohemia by right of heredity as Václav III. But the combination with that boy was thwarted. After his coronation as king of Hungary, his father Václav II. soon deemed it necessary to take him from Budín to his home in Prague.

Matúš Čák's plan miscarried. It is difficult to say what he really intended. The idea of nationality was unknown to this period, therefore, Matúš hardly proceeded from it. This failure, however, as well as the victory of Charles Robert over Čák can be considered a national calamity for the Slovaks. In his daring venture Čák relied upon the Slavs at home and in other countries, and from his victory over Charles Robert probably would have developed favorable conditions for the Slovaks in Hungary. To be under one dynasty with the Czechs would have been only to the adventage of the Slovaks.

Charles Robert, an Italian, was victorious over Matúš Trenčiansky, a representative of

the Slavonic tendency — and in the battle of Rozhon broke his power in Hungary; but be himself married first a Silesian, and later a Polish princess, and his successor, Louis the Great, was already the son of a Slav mother, and from it evolved close bonds with Hungary. Through these family ties the Hungarian throne came soon to Zigmund, a son of the excellent Charles IV. whom they called the "father of his country" in Bohemia. Zigmund was succeeded by his son-in-law Albert, and after the latter's short life came the Polish Vladislav I., who was succeeded by Albert's posthumous son Ladislav V. (As king of Bohemia Ladislav V. lived mostly in Prague.)

We believe that such rule could have been only to the detriment of the Magyar nation. Vladislav I. of Poland fell in a battle with the Turks at Varna; Ladislav V. also had a short life, and Mathias, the son of John Hunyadi, who was also of Serbo-Rumanian birth, became king of Hungary. Magyar literary history mentions with acerbity about King Mathias that during his reign not one Magyar document issued from the royal chancery.[1] Of the two

1) We know of many such documents in Czech or Czechoslovak. In his study of the court of King Mathias, Desider Csánki writes that the Latin language in the chancery of Hungary in the fifteenth century was a matter easily comprehended: "but it is less justifiable that along with the complete

Jagellons, Vladislav II. and Louis II., who ascended the throne after Mathias, Magyar history calls the first "Dobsze László" — because he spoke either Bohemian or Polish.

Surrounded by Slavs, the Magyars saved themselves at first just by accident from becoming absorbed by them. After they had grown more powerful and had saved themselves through the influx of other nomads, the Pechenegs, and the Polovci-Kumans, who were their racial kin, conditions in the country remained such that the Magyars could gain neither intellectual nor national preponderance in Hungary. It was in the seventeenth century that the Turks helped them. In history we see more than once that circumstances which are detrimental to one are favorable to others.

Šafárik, in "Slovanské Starožitnosti", when dealing with the sad end of Greater Moravia, mournfully mentions also the decline of the Slovak language. The latter, which in the ninth century had been domesticated in the castles of princes, had retired to the cottages of the villagers after the downfall of Greater Moravia.[2] Certain it is that when a language

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disuse of the Magyar language there issued from the chancery German documents and ever so many documents in Slovak." Századok, 1883, pg. 575.

2) "Slovanské starožitnosti", pg. 807.

cannot develop in state-life, it fares badly. The Slovak language which had been used at the courts of Mojmír, Pribina, Kocel', Rastislav and Svätopluk in the ninth century, and assuredly had been endeared to the great Slav apostles Cyril and Methodius, though they executed their historic work — the writing of books of worship and the translation of the Holy Scriptures — in the language which they had brought from the Slavonic South-east, met with a sad fate when Greater Moravia, which had begun so phenomenally, became extinct in the beginning of the tenth century. But Slovak, the language of our ancestors, whose sounds and words resound to us also in the Cyrilo-Methodic Bible texts, was not spoken only by the villagers immediately afterwards.

The Slovak language resounded for a long time in the castles and burgs of Slovakia. In the first half of the fifteenth century Pongrác, the mighty lord of Starohrad and St. Mikuláš, as well as lord of Skalica and its vicinity, declared war on his unruly neighbor, Emperor Friedrich in a Slovak letter. The wife of the excellent palatine Júr Turzo, Elizabeth Cobor, was born and reared in the center part of Hungary, in a Magyar district, yet neither in Orava castle nor in Bytča did they cease speaking Slovak. When she was absent, on a visit to her

mother, her children sent word to her in Slovak, that they would prefer having her at home. In Tranovský's hymnal, there is also a song preserved which Lady Turzo composed — probably with the aid of Elias Láni, their court preacher. Why does a contemporary of Turzo, Peter Reva of Sklabín, guardian of the crown, in his Latin book on the crown of Hungary [1] praise the Slovak language, stating that with its aid "one can go through half of Europe and a great part of Asia?" Certainly because it was a language which was dear to him and which he preferred to speak. Indeed, even in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the Magyar spirit, awakened by the ventures of the dukes of Transylvania and the activities of the Primate-archbishop Pázmány, began to make aggressions, at the time when Peter Zrinský, the Croatian writer, in a letter written in the Magyar language, invited guests to the wedding of his daughter to Francis Rákóci I., during that same time Illésházy, lord of Trenčiany castle, giving his daughter in marriage, still sent out letters in Slovak. The delegates of the district assembly of Bratislava (Prešpork) sent to their city (Zvolen) reports in Slovak. Their reports are also interesting for calling the assembly by its original Slovak

1) De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae, 1622.

name "rákoš." "The Lord, God himself, knows — wrote Ján Zemberj in 1646 — what will be the end of this rákoš (assembly)." [1] The preface by Matúš Bel to the excellent grammar of Paul Doležal in 1746 has been mentioned. There Bel accounts for the families of Turzo, Illésházy, Ostrošič, Zay, Súlovský, Révay, Justh, Ollík, and Benický as being lovers of the Slovak language. From the Turk period, as is shown in "Zpievánky" by Ján Kollár, we have interesting compositions in verse by prominent Slovak people about the battles. Ján Ambrozy, high sheriff of Orava is known as the author of "Škola Kristova"; vice-highcommissioner of Orava, Jób Zmeškal wrote "Škola Jobova", and in that book is also found the name of Baltazar Pongrác as an author. Or what do the oratorical triumphs of the enthusiastic follower of Bernolák, Andrew Mészáros in Trenčiany County at the beginning of the nineteenth century prove? At every important event in the county assembly his was the appointed task to deliver the speech of the occasion (of course, in the Slovak language); in the most prominent and most powerful Slovak families no funeral was considered solemn unless a Slovak speech had been delivered by Andrew Mészáros. [2] Or

1) Slovenský Letopis, II. pg. 55.
2) KÁZNE PRÍHODNE od rozličnich ňekdy kazatelov w

even this example from the very end of the seventeenth century: When cardinal Kollonič, as minister of state lived in Vienna, he wrote, as to an old acquaintance, a letter to Nitra County, to Lady Apony. But the letter was written in German, and Lady Apony did not know German. She went with the letter from acquaintances to strangers before it could be read and explained to her. Then she sat down and wrote an answer to Kollonič in Vienna — in Slovak. [1]

Conditions were very adverse and life was hard, but the Slovak spirit and Slovak sentiment, though stultified by the effects of Latin, did not perish. Another adverse condition arose for the Slovaks in the fifteenth century, after having contended with the Polovci and the Germans in the twelfth. Žižka's followers, the Czechs, embittered against the faithless Zig-

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Gaziku slowenskom powedané . . . . ktoré pozbíral a poznowu witlačiť dal Michal Rešetka, I. w Trnave 1831. This volume contains 18 sermons by Mészáros.)

1) This was told to me by the late Arthur Odeschalchi who knew as an historian and from family tradition many interesting things about that part of Nitra County. And he did not fail to add: "Count Albert Apponyi who, as Hungarian minister of Education, tried so hard (in 1907) to Magyarize even the remotest Slovak hamlet, is a direct descendent of this Lady Apony of the seventeenth century." — In an interesting narrative about Nitra County (Hesperus, Prague 1818) Baron Mednyánsky jotted down that even the most prominent families did not know German as late as in the second half of the reign of Maria Theresa.

mund by the death of Ján Hus, destroyed right and left everything they deemed belonged to Zigmund. Thus their blows, aimed against the "faithless" (Zigmund) landed most of the time on the Slovaks as the ones being the nearest to the Czech frontier. Or later, under Jiskra!.... Poor inhabitants in whose land there is ceaseless military activity! Jiskra was then in the service of the dowager-queen, to protect the right of her son, — born after his father's death, — to the throne against the new king; his army usurped the right to provide for itself and conduct its operations at the expense of the population, in other words, by requisition. [1)]

In the second half of the fifteenth century, in the wars of Mathias against the Czechs and

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1) A tradition has taken root in Slovakia about Jiskra's "Hussites" which presented matters entirely falsely, but recently much light has been shed upon it. According to this tradition some considered Jiskra a hero in a religious fight, others also saw a national struggle, while in reality it was neither the one nor the other. Jiskra had been hired in the service of Queen Elizabeth to protect the right of her posthumous son Ladislav, who had been born after the death of King Albert, to the throne of Hungary. He was to seize towns and win them over to Ladislav. This could have been neither a religious nor a national struggle. The letter which Jiskra wrote in 1462 to King Mathias after the collapse of his power is in itself quite eloquent. He came to Hungary — he writes in the letter — to fight for the just cause of Ladislav; "when later Ladislav of Poland (chosen as king of Hungary) resisted, I was compelled to seize the predatory mob which had followed

Emperor Friedrich again Slovak territory suffered most of all.

And then again, after the battle of Moháč in 1526, when the so-called Turkish period came in.

In 1541 the Turks already occupied Budín where the Pasha resided in the castle as the Sultan's substitute. Later one could see that they tried to advance from Budín up the

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me. I permitted many levities, in order that they obey my commands in an armed tempest . . . By continued force Thou hast annihilated those corps who had carried destruction and poverty over Thy kingdom in my name. Only I remain who could be of resistance to Thee; but also the only one who can foresee Thy glorious undertakings and victories." (Text of the letter also in Paul Tomášek's book: Paměti Jelšavské a Muránské. 1829. pg. 66.) Then, in 1462 Jiskra entered the Service of King Mathias, as he had previously entered the service of Queen Elizabeth and her son.

Tradition favorable to Jiskra and his "Hussites" credited them with the building of castles and churches in Slovakia; in fact, it claimed that they had prepared ground for the Reformation there. A mass of soldiers, however, which does not know today where they will be tomorrow, cannot build castles and churches. On the other hand, in the book of Emil Edgar, "Prostestantismus a architektura" (Levné poučné knížky, č. 29. Praha) a psychology which would imagine that the Hussite army in Hungary could have been commandeered to build churches or even castles, is condemned. These armies . . . representing the rather quickly decaying Hussitism . . . . were composed of many foreigners, of "bad men from all parts of the world", according to more reproachful expressions, "of the scum of the earth". Their character and organization did not make them fit for religious reformation . . . The Hussite army is being sold in tens of thousands for pay against Jiří Poděbrad, the former captains (hejtmani) of the companies of the Bohemian brethren are also among the leaders of the expedition of Mathias into Bohemia . . . (pg. 16). Later Edgar writes

Danube, in order to intimidate the Hapsburgs in their residence, in Vienna. At that time autonomous Transylvania was left unmolested by the Turks. They (the Turks) did not bother much about Transylvania, which in turn had been approached not to hinder them in their advance against Vienna. Under Bočkay and Bethlen it seemed as if there were a natural agreement between the Turks and Transylvania. From the South up the Turks had more

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that he inspected the so-caled "Hussite" churches in Zvolen county, in Gemer and in Malo Hont (Radvaň, Rímavská Baňa, Teriakovce, Rímavské Brezovo, Štítnik, Kraskovo, Rožňava, Ratková, Čerenčany, Drienčany) and became convinced that not even one of these supposedly Hussite churches and with them some others ARE OF HUSSITE ORIGIN; they all belong to either an earlier or a later period." Prior to Edgar this was reliably established about the churches in Malo Hont by the expert, professor Ján Koula (Příspěvek k poznání "Husitských kostelíků na Slovensku", in the magazine "Slovensko", 1901). Armies, such as Jiskra's in Upper Hungary, were of course very poor disseminators of the teachings of Hus. When these teachings began to take root somewhat earlier in Sriem and some parts of Transylvania, Jacob Marchia, the strict superior of the Franciscans of Bosna was sent there as inquisitor. Had the Church seen the necessity of an inquisition in Upper Hungary, it certainly would not have failed to send either Marchia or some one else here. But there could have been only very little of Hussitism; even Jiskra himself probably was a Catholic. The Reformation of Luther in the following century began to expand not through adherents of the teachings of Hus — but through the Germans. It traveled from Germany to Germans. There are reliable records showing that the Reformation reached the Germans of Gemer through the Germans of Spiš. The Slovaks began to join it after it had thus become widespread.

This traditon about the Hussites, historically so little true,

than one third of Hungary in their power; yet it can be stated that in those subjugated parts life was less hard than it was in the upper parts, in our Slovak parts, which were not subjugated. In order to derive tribute, revenue, from the subjected parts, the Turks were lenient towards them and threw themselves upon the parts still unconquered. Into these latter they made frequent invasions, plundered and pillaged and dragged away people as prisoners of war. During the same time German soldiers who had been sent against the Turks, were moved about. They were more cruel towards the population than they were towards the Turks — did not protect the population, but harrassed it often worse than the Turks

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was assisted in taking root by the writings of Ladislav Bartolomeides. (1825).

He saw and pointed to Hussites where there was not even a trace of them. (In his book "De Bohemia Kishontensibus, 1783) he considered as Czech also the family names of Ďurinda, Haluška, Hrvoľ, Klincko, Palic, Tunák, and others. About his samples of speech, by means of which he tried to prove the Czech origin of the Malo-Hont settlements, Dobrovský said in a letter to Rybaj, "dasz die angeführten Proben nicht BÖHMISCH sind" (J. Dobrovského korrespondence, 11. pg. 111.) About Muráň castle we have a record (castrum Muran, of 1271) and Bartolomeides lets Jiskra's soldiers build it. Beyond Bradna (in Gemer) there is a castle, the like of which we quote at least fifty times in the period from the sixth to the eighth century, but to Bartolomeides they are also the work of Hussites. It is advisable to read what J. L. Holuby writes in Janoška's "Cirkevné Listy", 1915, pg. 162. about the church of Haluzice near Zemské Podhradie; and Paul Križko, also in "Cirkevné Listy", 1899, pg. 7, about Jiskra's work in Slovakia.

did. But when the rebellion of Transylvania against Vienna started, commencing with Bočkay, they requisitioned in Slovakia for war expenditures and the soldiers; here was the cockpit, here also moved about the army called "Hajduchs" (forest guards) who were even more brutal towards the population than were the Turks or the German soldiers.

Life in Slovakia was especially hard during the second half of the seventeenth century. The Turkish Pasha resided as far up as Fialkov, and westward as far as Nové Zámky. The Turkish garrisons made invasions into the uplands. The archi-episcopal residence in Ostrihom, with all that belonged to it, was moved to Trnava immediately after 1541. At that time, especially in the beginning, other institutions, families and whole communities were also transfered from the lowlands; many Magyar Calvinist churches settled as far as the neighborhood of Hlohovec, in Nitra County. Later, when in that part was even less security than there had been in the lowlands, they would have hardly pushed up that far. More than once even Magyar historians admitted that not those parts fared the worst whom the Pasha of Budín decreed to pay taxes. In the uplands not only the Turks plundered, pillaged and burnt, but also the natives. Trnava, for instance, was

burnt down in a frightful manner by Tököly when he advanced behind the Turkish armies in 1683 to observe what will be the lot of Vienna. (In parts occupied by the Turks such things did not happen.)

A picture of the kind of life which the Slovak parts endured is also preserved in Pilárik's composition in verse.[1] During the Turkish invasion into Nitra and Trenčiany counties in 1663, Stephen Pilárik, a priest of Senica, was taken prisoner and carried away, and narrated his misfortune in a remarkable manner. His composition in verse does not stand out prominently as to its poetic value, but one can very well conceive from it what was going on in Slovakia. Pilárik explains his bitter experience; the stage was set in Slovak parts, and he produced a lively illustration of what happened in general, everywhere. Wherever there are any records of those times, everywhere one can read about the sacking and burning of towns and villages, and of the dragging away of people into slavery. For instance, in the church record of Štítnik (in Gemer) of the sixteenth century: "In 1556 A. D., on the day before the Circumcision of the Lord Jesus Christ, Jelšava was cruelly plundered and sacked by the Turks, while four hundred people

1) Sors Pilarikiana. Žilina, 1666.

were being led away.... In 1558 A. D. on the sixth day before St. James the Apostle, the town of Plešivec was almost completely burnt down by the Turks and many inhabitants led away. That same year, on the vigil of the Holy Virgin of Priška the so-called Suchá Dolina (not far from Štítnik) was cruelly plundered and to the greater part burnt down by the Turks. In 1561 on the Sunday preceding Jubilate Sunday, the upper valley of Štítnik, Slaboška, Rohovce, Gecelovce and Roštár were plundered and three hundred and seven people led away to prison. In 1562, on Latare Sunday, the hamlet below Muráň castle was thoroughly sacked and burnt down." The proverb, that one misfortune follows another was then very fitting, indeed. Besides the Turks there came German mercenaries, hajduchs, and even the natives were doing damage to one another. In this record of Štítnik of 1630 it is written that Balassy Ferenc with his people attacked Roštár (a hamlet near Štítnik), killed people and burnt down Roštár, so that only seven houses with the church and parish remained. [1]

The hard fate of our Slovak parts in the seventeenth century can be also told from our

1) L. Bartolomeides: Memorabilia provinciae Csetnek, 1789, pg. 73.

church hymns and songs. In the hymnal of the Slovak Evangelicals (Lutherans), in the so-called Tranoscius, there are many such songs. For instance, Song No. 657:[1]

Zkaz Turka zlého,
Antikrista podvodného....
(Destroy the evil Turk,
the deceitful Anti-Christ....)

Or No. 818:

Dejž, ať budou zahanbení,
kteříž páchají rouhání,
Turci, Tataři zlobiví,
holomci Mahometoví.
(Grant that those will be shamed
who commit blasphemy,
Turks and Tartars ill-tempered,
and Mahomet's ruffians.)

In the song "Odvráť nepokoj válečný" (Avert the unrest of war) it is plaintively said that

Chrámy, školy pusté stojí,
mnohé sú rozbořené....
(Churches, schools delapidated,
many of them are destroyed....)

The songs also confirm that the nation was not only harrassed by the Turks.

1) Edition of 1818.

Pane, hled' na vše strany,
zle se děje s Křesťany,
jak velké jest pálení,
loupeže, mordování.
I ti, jež ku obraně
povstali, milý Pane,
činí též plundrování.

The foregoing — an appeal to God, to look and see what is being done to Christians; how they are being sacked, their properties burnt and their lives wantonly destroyed, not only by the adversaries, but even those who had risen in defense are plundering — is intended to show that there are meant either the imperial armies, those of Bočkay, Bethlen and Rákóci, or even both, the imperial and rebel armies.

The same can be also found in the Catholic hymnal and in the prayer books of both faiths. Senica, whence the Tartars, as auxilaries of the Turks, dragged away Stephen Pilárik in 1663, is in Nitra county, but the furious invasion of the Turks extended even into Trenčín county. They dragged away many thousands of people, from one and the other county, and destroyed and carried away much property. [1)]

In the minutes of the churches along with

1) J. L. Holuby: Stopy tureckého hospodárenia v Trenčianskej v 16. a 17. storočí. (Slovenské Pohľady, 1894, pg. 653, 697.

the records of other misfortunes and calamities there are also records of débacles in matrimony. Wives, whose husbands were held prisoners by the Turks; husbands whose wives had been dragged away by them, appealed to the Ecclesiastic Courts and sought permission for a second marriage. The Ecclesiastic authorities adjudged very carefully, but during these confusions it often happened that a new marriage permit was granted the petitioners when it should have been refused and a new misfortune issued from that permit. More than once it happened that the husband, considered dead for many years, returned home after his wife had remarried; or a captured wife returned after many years and found her husband married to another.

It certainly was bad for agriculture when he who plowed and sowed was not certain whether he would also harvest; or take care of cattle when the next moment the Turk, the Tartar, the imperial mercenary or the Hajduch was apt to deprive one of it. In the second half of the sixteenth century the Royal Commission ascertained about Muráň castle and Krásná Hora in Gemer County that the lands belonging thereto could not be cultivated on account of the Turks.

Whoever considers this condition cannot but admire the Slovaks, whether as farmers, landowners, artisans or merchants. One would

think that an artisan or merchant could have saved himself with more ease than a farmer. But, there being no public safety, what could become of trade or commerce? It was almost impossible to transport merchandise; merchants and artisans were being waylaid on the highways by the Turks and the Hajduchs. A weak person succumbs, perishes in such conditions; only one with determination and an unyielding backbone survives....

To these many misfortunes came also religious dissensions, instigated and exploited by the Government. Brother became an enemy of brother. In 1671 the tribunal of inquisition began its activities in Prešpork.

When finally in 1683, due to the merits of the Polish king Ján Sobieski and Pope Innocent XI. the Turks received such a heavy blow before Vienna, that their power collapsed, and three years later they also lost Budín, conditions in Slovakia still did not improve. A considerable part of the armies which had fought against the Turks before Vienna poured into Hungary. There still remained many Turks, and with them also Tartars, and besides them we also had here German mercenaries, Kuruc soldiers — even Lithuanians and other remnants of Sobieski's forces. (In Orava twenty-five communities were completely destroyed by

the Lithuanians.) Vienna did not pay her mercenaries at all; they lived off the population as if this were a matter of course. 1685 was a very unfavorable year for farming and in places the famine was so acute that the people were led to desperate acts. At that time, in such a hard year, that small part of Hungary which had not been subjected to the Turks and had remained loyal to the king in Vienna, was obliged to pay Vienna seventy percent of the military expenditures — while the crownlands of Austria were only required to pay thirty percent. In 1686 the Turks evacuated Budín and remained only in lower Hungary, but in 1703 Francis Rákóci's rebellion against Vienna began, and its stage, of course, was Upper Hungary — in other words, Slovakia. The diplomatic representative of Venice wrote home in 1708 how devastated had become a large part of Hungary — that it would not come to in half a century. In the years 1708—1711 the plague raged, and over three hundred thousand people died. In 1703 it was ascertained that only three million souls lived in Hungary.

The Slovaks could not be helped under such circumstances in spite of their strong backbone. They could not but perish. They had no longer the opportunity and possibility of regaining strength and replacing the heavy losses.

IV.

MAGYAR LUCK WITH THE TURKS.

The Turks had been a great misfortune for south-eastern Europe, especially for the South-Slavs, since the end of the fourteenth century. In the sixteenth century they had Hungary in their power.

It cannot be well claimed that the Magyars did not suffer under them, but by a force of peculiar circumstances the Magyars derived a great national benefit out of what had become a religious calamity. Expounding the horrible misery which Upper Hungary, or better said, Slovakia experienced under the Turks and in the rebellions waged by Transylvania against Vienna, the Magyar historian Francis Salamon wrote: "But it is a matter of joy that the Magyar nation made great progress in intellectual matters in these times and that such firm foundations were laid for Magyar culture which not even the mishaps of later days could destroy. While in Upper Hungary the pierced clouds of the Thirty-Years War, conducted in

Germany (1618-1648), brought down heavy storms from time to time, the sun of education and peaceful prosperity did not set over the eastern parts of our homeland. Transylvania, for more than forty years, lived its period of splendor and rendered Magyar national culture services which will be forever remembered." [1]

This certainly was extraordinary, but it was true. Transylvania was left in peace by the Turks; in fact, they served as a protection against the imperial armies. Transylvania could gather strength. Veľký Varadín and Bihar County belonged to it since the sixteenth century, the dominion of the Vojvod of Transylvania extended also to Marmaroš, Satmár, Sabolč, Ugoča and Bereg counties. Under such Turkish protection as developed here, Bočkay began his action against Vienna from Transylvania. It was successful and led to the peace of Vienna (1606) in which the Hapsburgs were compelled to make concessions. Bočkay was succeeded on the throne of Transylvanian Vojvods by Gabriel Bethlen, and the rebellion against Vienna met with still better success. Bethlen had also cultural progress at stake. Under his rule, during the peace secured by

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1) Salamon Ferenc: Magyarország a török hóditás korában, pg. 386.

the proximity of the Turks, general welfare increased and the trades flourished in the cities. Bethlen would colonize foreign artisans as teachers. He especially served the Magyar national cause by his efforts in behalf of the schools. Transylvanian Belehrad already had a college, but Bethlen endeavored to uplift and develop it; he wanted it to become an university. He sought out in Germany excellent professors and invited them to Transylvania. Thus in 1621 he brought Martin Opitz, the German poet; in 1629 the excellent pedagogs Alsted, Bisterfeld and Piscatore. He also patronized the school in Debrecín. He sent capable young men to the university in Holland and England. In order to increase the library of Belehrad college he endowed a considerable sum.

It seems that the Primate-archbishop of Hungary, Pázmány, had worked hand in hand with Bethlen. The archi-episcopal see, which had been transfered from Ostrihom before the danger of Turkish aggression in 1541, had sought refuge in Trnava. Pázmány was a mind very much like Skarga of Poland. Emperor Ferdinand II. did not have a person more devoted than was Pázmány who conducted the counter-Reformation with a success commensurate only with its zeal, but in every other respect as a staunch Magyar — and he was the

descendent of Slovak ancestors — the archbishop worked in harmony, hand in hand, with Bethlen.

Pázmány proceeded against Protestantism, with its own weapons, the school and books, and under his leadership the Jesuits employed the Magyar language in the pulpit and in the schools. Himself an author, practically the founder of Magyar literature, Pázmány accomplished great things in behalf of Magyar national education. Trnava, where the Primate-archbishop resided really became an intellectual center. In a city, essentially Slovak, there lived around Pázmány such a Magyar society that young Mikuláš Zrinský, the subsequent great Magyar poet of epics, learned to speak Magyar here.[1] Here was translated the bible (Káldi translation) which was published with the financial aid of Bethlen; here Magyar youth was taught in order to be later better able to serve the intellectual need of its nation.

After Bethlen George Rákóci I. ascended in Transylvania and the school system also received assistance from him. The Calvinist schools in Veľký Varadín, Kolożvár and Sat-

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1) Pázmány was the guardian of the orphans Peter and Mikuláš Zrinský and took care of them in such a way that they were mostly with him.

már flourished. The Rákócis ruled, i. e., had possessions also in Zemplín and Šároš Patak, and with their assistance a college developed there too. It is known that in this college (in Šároš Patak) our great educator Komenský (Comenius) was also active. The widow of George Rákóci invited Komenský to Patak to organize a school and Komenský worked there for four years, introduced his pedagogic system, wrote for it the text books and gained for it such a reputation that even students from foreign countries came to study at the college at Šároš Patak.

These are the *foundations* of Magyar culture of which Salamon speaks. That was "the splendid period of peaceful prosperity" for the intellectual life of the Magyar nation. How the Magyar spirit became enlivened and developed can be judged from the way in which during the second half of that (the seventeenth) century, the Slovak lesser nobility began to Magyarize their names; Svatojanský became Szentiványi, Kubinský — Kubinyi, Madočanský — Madocsányi.

Magyar history may call "the splendid period of peaceful prosperity" of the Magyar nation those forty years of that seventeenth century all of which had been a period of great suffering for the Slovaks.

On the national side the Turks had been of assistance to the Magyars as soon as they, towards the end of the fourteenth century, began to press towards Europe from Asia Minor, crushed Serbia in the battle of Kosovo Pole (in 1389), conquered Constantinople and advanced up along the Danube. Since then they had been of assistance to the Magyars along national lines, *because by stifling the Yugo-Slav nations the Turks lessened the pressure of the Slavs upon the Magyars.* This lasted a little more than three hundred years. In the mean time the revival of the Magyar national spirit in Transylvania took place.[1]

At this point it will not be amiss showing how Magyars were created along the Middle Danube and the Tisa.

The racial status of the Magyar nation was very rationally explained in 1891 in Budapest

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1) Together with the intelectual revival of a nation comes also its material growth. In the first half of the eighteneth century one could see in the Transylvanian cities that they had enjoyed a peaceful life a hundred years prior. After the expulsion of the Turks and the rebellions against Vienna, the city of Prešporok, though favorably situated in those adverse times, in the beginning of the eighteenth century had only 7.943 inhabitants, Košice 1,961, Banská Bystrica 2,651, Trnava 2,857, Trenčín 1,756, Prešov 2,023, Brezno 1,154, Krupina 1,503, Pukanec 698, Ľubietová 745; but in Transylvania Kolozvár had 10,472, Brašov 16,816, Sibin 10,116 — even Schässburg (Segesvár) had 5,579.

before the Magyar Ethnographic society by Dr. Ladislav Réthy. When the Magyars reached the middle Danube and the Tisa towards the end of the ninth century they were already quite isolated from their ural-altaic stock and intermixed with others. They came to the southern bank of the Danube and the Tisa with the Cabars and found the Slavonic nations and remnants of the Avars there. In the mean time various peoples from the East pressed into these parts. Forced from their Moldavian settlements by the Kumans, the Pechenegs followed the Magyars and remained with them. In the middle of the eleventh century, during the reign of Gejza I. Germans moved into Spiš county, and Saxons settled in Transylvania. In the thirteenth century, forced out in the East by the Tartars, the Polovci-Kumans came. After the Tartar catastrophe, settlers from the western nations came into Hungary. In the East the Rumanians expanded; Russians came into the North-East, and after the misfortune of Kosovo Pole (1389) the first drove of Serbians appeared. Turkish sovereignty in Hungary commenced in the sixteenth century; after its collapse colonization followed, leaving Germans and fragments of other nations there. Armenians became domiciled in Transylvania.

Réthy attributes the fact that the Magyars saved themselves and their language in this maelstrom to their geographic location. The Danube and the Tisa, into which flow all the other rivers from the West, North and East through the country, are surrounded in the North and the East by the Carpathian Mountains. In such a territory — he alleges — that race becomes dominant which holds the lowlands in its power. The inhabitant of the mountains follows the flow of the rivers; his life's efforts are turned in the direction in which flow the waters of his natives territory. The Transylvanian and the Sub-Carpathian Slovak are forced by nature to look to the lowlands. When the population of the uplands began to leave in larger droves, the Magyars were already domiciled in the basin of the Danube and the Tisa, and all those who came after them became welded with this element. "Thus was created — said Réthy — and thus is created Magyardom. When we begin to analyze it, we find all the nations of this country contained in Magyardom." The Pechenegs, Kumans, and the Slovaks of the lowlands have become Magyarized in the same way as the German and Italian cities.

He (Réthy) then quotes the prominent and powerful Hungarian families which at the end

of the nineteenth century already considered themselves Magyar. Of German origin are the families of: Báthory, Amadé, Szentgyörgyi, Bánffy, Forgách, Haller, Wenkheim, Hadik, Splényi; Italian: Lorántfy, Ráday, Cibak, Deméndy, Korda, Odeschalchi, Pallavicini, Polza, Baldácsi. From Switzerland came Degenfeld-Schomburg, Migazzi; of French or Norman blood are the families of: Bethlen, Apafy, Drugeth, de la Motte, Dezasse, Aspremont. The Zriny's are South-Slavs — one is the hero of Sihot, the other the great Magyar poet; likewise the families of Gara, Grassalkovich, Csenkovich, Festetich, Széchen, Keglevich, Hugonnay. Slovaks are Podmanický, Radvanský, the Jesenáks and many families of the high nobility. [1] The Rákócis are a branch of the Czech family Radvan; Poles are Thököli, Luzsénszky, Zselinszky; from a Rumanian family came John Hunyadi and his son Mathias; also the families of Majláth, Jósika and Dragfi.

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1) "A large number of the families of the high nobility" are Réthy's own words; and even among the families whose origin he considers German, Italian, Yugo-Slav or other, there could be found many more Slovaks. For instance: the Hadiks are Turčian Slovaks. From their family sprung mostly Evangelical ministers, and only later they entered military service. In the Seven Years War Andrew Hadík with his hussars bravely captured Berlin — to the great humiliation of Frederick the Great — and as its conqueror raised from the city an adequate tribute. The Kordas were and are Slovaks.

The lesser nobility were even more diversified; in them all the nationalities of Hungary (and particularly the Slovaks) were represented in large numbers. — Among the bishops Réthy mentions as non-Magyar only: Mikuláš Oláh, Ján Vitéz, George Draškovich, A. Dudich, Peter Berisglóv, G. Patachich, Ján Scitkovský, Bela Bartakovich, Ipolyi, Haynald, Samasa, Schlauch, Hornig, Lönhard. In Magyar politics the Slovak Kossuth created an epoch; half a century earlier Ignác Martinovič bled to death for the idea of Hungarian freedom. [1]

Having quoted the most excellent representatives of science and art among the Magyars, Réthy came to the conclusion that in Magyar history there are millions of people of other races who had increased and improved the Magyar nation. The idea of Magyardom — he alleges — is not identical with the idea of race. The Magyars are no longer an Altaic people. The Slovaks, Germans, Rumanians, etc., are races with peculiar characteristics, peculiar temperaments, with a complete character of a people (demos); they create among themselves closed, permanent and definite units, and Ma-

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1) The intellectual leader of the movement known as the conspiracy of Martinovič was in reality Joseph Hajnócy, a Slovak.

gyardom is the formation of all nations in Hungary....

Thus writes Réthy, and it would be difficult to contradict him substantially in his conclusions. The Magyar nation, as we know it since the seventeenth century, was created in this manner. Since the succeeding century, the eighteenth, it became still more mixed.

V.

HOW THE SLOVAKS PERISHED.

In the Seventeenth century, under the Turks, the German mercenaries sent here against the Turks, and during the military expeditions of the rebellions, undertaken by Transylvania against Vienna and waged exclusively on our Upper Hungarian, or rather Slovak territory, life was very hard. At any rate, our ancestors did not perish in that measure during the whole seventeenth century and in the beginning of the eighteenth century as they did since the second half of that same century. From Nitra and Bratislava counties, which during the Turkish era had been the most densely populated parts, agriculturists exported grain, cattle, wine and hay to Austria. Modrá, Pezinok and St. Júr enjoyed a good reputation for their wines. In Myjava and its vicinity various branches of industry were so greatly developed in the seventeenth century that they could compete on the whole European continent; textiles used in the country mostly came

from there. But also Trenčian, Liptov, Orava and Turčian counties distinguished themselves along industrial lines; the most prominent people in the country were dressed in cloth made in Puchov. The forests were sources of revenue for the people of Liptov, Orava and Turčian, together with river trade on rafts; but there were also earnings from the manufacture of flax and hemp, and even medicinal herbs offered sources of earning. The people of Turčian, as oil-vendors, or rather vendors of medicinal oils, which they produced from herbs, carried them into the wide world. Mining flourished in Zvolen, Tekov and Hont counties; in Spiš and Šariš they had a well developed textile industry. Even in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the decline was already general, the commissary districts of Bratislava, Banská Bistrica and Košice, in other words Slovakia, *paid an equal half of the entire taxation of the whole country (Hungary).*

After that the decline of the Slovak part was greatly accelerated. In 1723 Pest county did not pay one third of the taxes Bratislava county paid; in 1773 the taxes of Báč-Bodrok county amounted only to one sixth of the taxes of Nitra county; in 1724 Liptov county paid twice as much in taxes than Tolnian county. It is true, in the earlier period after the ex-

pulsion of the Turks there were disproportionately fewer inhabitants in the lowlands than there were in the Slovak parts; but this condition did not last long, because the shortage of people everywhere was being augmented by colonization. From Slovakia, especially from Novohrad and Hont counties, much population settled in the various parts of the lowlands. The lowlands were being assisted with everything in every possible way, and the uplands were neglected in a corresponding degree. Maria Theresa transfered the university from Trnava to Budín, and Joseph II. also concentrated the principal offices of the country there. Exports of several lines of merchandise to the Austrian provinces and to the North ceased.

The north-western parts of Slovakia were, even after that hard existence, industrially and commercially in fairly good shape in the first half of the eighteenth century. At first Maria Theresa looked after them as she did after the Austrian lands; but soon it became evident that the Empress supported the industries of the crownlands of Austria to our detriment. Then Joseph II. elevated the manufacturing industries of Austria to such a degree that they could compete with French and English industries, and then the Hungarian industries

got still deeper into the rut. The wealthier part of the Hungarian population bought its clothes in Vienna. The industries of Prešporok, Nitra and Trenčian counties earned less every year. Previously much was sold at home, in the lowlands; during the reign of Joseph II. many foreign manufacturers settled there; the less wealthy class could purchase or have things made at home, and the wealthy already dressed in foreign goods, in short, they supplied themselves from foreign countries. The land itself did not offer an adequate livelihoood; a downward migration from the uplands began, into the more fertile parts. The lower part of the country grew and became wealthy at the expense of the upper part.

Eleven of the lower counties: Heveš, Sabolč, the Kuman district, Čongrad, Šomod, Tolnia, Belehrad, Čanád, Békeš, Pest and Báč-Bodrok counties, in 1787, when conditions there had been readjusted after the evacuation of the Turks, had 1,537,969 inhabitants. At the same time, in 1787, in eleven of the upper counties, in Prešporok, Nitra, Trenčian, Liptov, Orava, Turčian, Zvolen, Šariš, Tekov, Hont and Gemer, after they had already strongly declined, there lived 1,535,480 souls. Sixty years later, in 1848, there were in these lower eleven counties already 2,844,830 people, while in our upper

eleven counties there were only 1,910,000. Decline here and growth there is also shown in the cities. In 1787 Budín had 23,000, and Pest only 16,000 inhabitants; but Prešporok had 29,000 and Banská Štiavnica 24,000. But after ninety years, in 1870, the population in Štiavnica had declined to one half, 12,000. A comparison with other cities would show like results. *In the nineteenth century there lived fewer people in the Slovak villages than had lived there two hundred or three hundred years ago.*

The Magyar historian Henrich Marczali, in his work on the era of Joseph II. [1] states that the population of the north-western part of Hungary, until the seventeenth century, stood industrially as high, or even higher, than the population of the neighboring Austrian provinces (probably except Silesia). During the Turkish wars these parts had become severed from the greater part of the country and later could not compete with the manufacturing industries which greatly developed in the other parts of middle and western Europe. Thus the industries of these parts, once so greatly developed, declined to such a degree in significance that they only equalled house-production. It became a remnant of an ancient, dying culture. At first it saved itself because of its iso-

1) Magyarország története II. József korában, I. pg. 102.

lation; later it could not withstand the strength of capital and labor of the neighboring countries.

On the one hand the policies of the government supported the Austrian crownlands, on the other Lower Hungary. In Vienna they soon forgot that under the Turks — for nearly two hundred years — they could look for support only to the upper parts.

At the same time, the government of Vienna very soon lost the power which it had gained over Hungary by its military actions against the Turks, at first before Vienna, in 1683, and later in Budín, in 1686. This became evident when the question of the so-called Pragmatic sanction arose. After Charles III., who had died without a male successor, the dynasty, in order to preserve the throne for a woman, Maria Theresa, made such concessions to Hungary that it lost all the power over it which it had obtained by the crushing of the Turks.

The ethnographic picture of Hungary underwent great changes in this second half of the eighteenth century.

A few examples will elucidate what these changes were. In Kaloča, a city below Pest, in 1602, i. e., during the first half of the period of Turkish rule, there lived only Turks and Serbs. Even in 1712 there were only a hundred

houses in Kaloča. In 1692, when the Turks had already left Budín, there lived in a considerable part of Baranyan, Tolnia and Šomod counties only 3221 people, and out of these 1650 lived in the city of Pätikostoly. There were also such parts where, after the disappearance of the Turks, only Greeks and Jews remained.

It was not an easy problem to colonize these parts. Emperor Leopold I. could boast of having crushed the power of the Turks in Hungary, having driven them from the territory of the middle Danube. It is true, during his reign, in 1683, the Turks were defeated before Vienna in a manner that it was later easy to take also Budín away from them. But the Turks before Vienna had been defeated by Ján Sobieski who had been won over by the pope to come to Vienna's aid. One way or the other, by the crushing of the reign of the Turk in the castle of Budín Vienna obtained a power over Hungary as it had never had before. For this reason Vienna also took the colonization of the lowlands in hand.

Kolonič, then a powerful minister of Leopold I. wanted to make Germanization out of this colonization. He intended to colonize only Germans beyond the frontiers of Austria, and that in a manner that people of no other nationality but the German could live in the cities

of Hungary. The German colonists were to be exempt from taxation for five years; colonists from Hungary, for instance Slovaks, only for three years.

It is only natural that especially large numbers of Serbs pressed into the lowlands of Hungary, for the lands on the southern bank of the Danube had remained under Turkish power. In 1690 there appeared in the Banat and the Báčka many new Serb colonists, and Germans came to Budín and other cities year after year in droves — always new ones, from beyond the frontiers. The Magyars also moved right and left, but alongside of these two elements, the Serbs and the Germans, the Magyars remained in the minority. The Serbs were also in the majority over the Germans, who were substantially supported by the Government of Vienna. For a long time, probably until the eighteenth century, it seemed that the lowlands of Hungary would become Serbian.

It is true, the Germans also continued pushing there. Supported by the Government of Vienna, the Švábs (a nickname of the Germans in Hungary) began to occupy land and to found new villages everywhere in lower Hungary, wherever there were camoral properties. They not only got between the Danube and the Tisa, and even beyond the Danube, but eastward as

far as Zemplín, Sabolča and Bihar. At first the Germans plowed land for their Magyar neighbors, then they bought and procured land from them, as dilligent farmers would do. They began pushing into the cities. In 1740 Budín was already a purely German city; in Pest, Stolný Belehrad, Pätikostoly, Segedín and Arad the Germans formed the core of the citizenry; in Subotica, Nový Sad and Temešvár they divided their power in the city with the Serbs. In Kecskemét in 1782 they founded a German school. The postal service was German in the whole country; the officials of the tax office, the salt warehouses and the camoral properties were German.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Slovaks also had permanent settlements between the Danube and the Tisa and on the southern bank of the Tisa. Their colonization was not much supported by Vienna. The Slovaks settled in the lowlands, mostly on the properties of the nobility who were anxious to secure industrious hands. Lutherans hired Lutherans, the Catholic nobles and the prelates engaged Catholics.

The Evangelical Slovak colonies prospered particularly in Békeš county, on the properties of Baron Harucker. Harucker was a German who had been showered with donations after

the evacuation of the Turks. In 1715 he colonized Čaba, which soon grew into a densely populated community. In 1722 that community together with the Slovaks of Asód (Pest county) colonized Sarvaš. Indeed, from the very beginning, Čaba let out other droves. Not long afterwards there were in Békeš county from among the larger communities only Békeš, Orošháza and Őscőd purely Magyar — in the others the Slovaks formed the majority. Out of the Slovak colonies in Békeš originated the principal city of Sabolč county — Nireďháza, in 1745. The Slovaks expanded also in Čanád and Arad counties, beyond the Tisa — by influxes from the uplands.

Another such widespread branch located between the Danube and the Tisa. The Slovaks formed the majority of the population in the whole county of Pest, with the exception of Kecskemét, Veľký Körös, Cegléd and Pest-Budín. In many places they became neighbors of the Serbs. There was no love lost between them and the Germans; the Germans shunned the Slovaks, the Slovaks the Germans. In the beginning the Slovak colonies also developed promisingly in Báčka. In general, Slovak colonists were taken into all parts of the lowlands, but they were far-flung, scattered. It was also harmful that they were taken mostly

from the nearest parts, from Novohrad, Hont and the other counties which were neighboring with the Magyars. The Slovak population thinned out and weakened on this account along the national frontier. This happened during the first half of the century; in the second again — as already mentioned — the policy of Vienna, mindful of the crownlands of Austria, issued such rules that industry in Slovakia collapsed completely as a result. Owing to this condition a downward flight of the people from the uplands began. In the first half of the century they had led them away and had settled them in the lowlands by official decree; now the people ran there in the wake of their rivers, of their own accord, driven by misery, in search of bread.

Out of this first migration of the Slovaks there arose also great communities in the lowlands in the second half of the eighteenth century, which grew in power and still exist, developing materially and spiritually, but those Slovaks who could not form larger communities and scattered in the settlements of the various parts of the lowlands, perished in that mixture of peoples in the second and third generation. The Serbs, who settled there after the expulsion of the Turks, were well off — they preserved their coherence with the motherland on

the other side of the Danube; the Slovaks remained separated from their kin. Those among them who, driven by misery, ran from the uplands and had no opportunity of taking root among their kin, in the Slovak colonies, perished. Thus it happened that in the first half of the nineteenth century even in the strongest Magyar communities of the lowlands nearly every one out of three people bore a Slovak name. Justified indeed was the heavy sigh of Sládkovič:

> "Hej, unáša Váh, Hron unáša sypkú
> zem hornú na tie pusty Dolnozeme!
> Tajde zem i ľud. Hej, biedna ty Slovač!
> Tamhor' vyhynieš, tamdole sa ztratíš!"

(Aye, the Váh and the Hron carry away the top soil of the mountains unto the plains of the lowland! Thus go soil and people. Aye, poor Slovakia! Above you perish, below you become lost!)

As mentioned, it was not good that the Slovaks were taken to the lowlands from Magyar neighborhoods: by doing this the Slovaks weakened and thinned out along the national frontier. At the same time when the migration into the lowlands began, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the elementary contest between the Slovaks and their Germans

had just been concluded. The Slovaks had been victorious in this hard contest of six hundred years duration: they had conquered the Germans, partly digesting them and partly forcing them out; but just as in other contests, Slovak national strength could not avoid a certain tension, followed by a slackening. Every act of creation is followed by weakening. And just when the Slovaks should have had a breathing spell they had to migrate in droves into the lowlands.

The Magyars complain about the decline of their intellectual life in the eighteenth century. After the struggle of two hundred years of the country with the Turks, their nation, in the eighteenth century — they allege — lived only on the physical plane, as if only breathing. The old ideas had died; new ones were not created. Their poet, in the beginning of the nineteenth century said gloomily: "You have begun to get spoiled, you Magyar, once so strong." [1] But all this is unreasonable talk. The Turkish Pasha, as the Sultan's substitute, sat a long time in Budín, but the Turks were also of benefit to the Magyars. No one will ever [2] be able to contravert a single letter from the

1) Berzsenyi: "Romlásnak indult hajdan erős magyar!"
2) Salamon Ference, Op. cit. pg. 386.

words of Francis Salamon about Transylvania under the rule of Bethlen and the Rákócis. During the peace which Transylvania enjoyed under the Turks, "Magyar culture — Salamon wrote — received such solid foundations which not even the mishaps of later days could destroy. While heavy storms raged over Upper Hungary during the first half of the seventeenth century, Transylvania lived its splendid era and rendered an everlastingly memorable service to Magyar national culture." Bethlen was fortunate in putting the Magyar nation on its feet, in harmony with Pázmány, who was an exceptional phenomenon in the intellectual life of Hungary. The effects of their intellectual growth could be readily seen during the second half of the century in Slovakia. The so-called Turkish era had been hard indeed for Hungary, but we must not generalize in our judgment concerning it: just here it is necessary to differentiate. The Magyar population in the lowlands did not scatter so much even under the Turks as one would be led to believe from the colonization after the expulsion of the Turks. For instance, from Pest down, in such cities as Kecskemét, Veľký Köröš, Cegléd, Senteš, Vásárhely, the Magyars remained during the entire time of the Turkish rule; they did not scatter. And without the Turks, without their

protection, *where* and *how* could there have been possible the intellectual development of the Magyar nation which could compare with that of Transylvania? When has there ever been a similar revival of the Magyar spirit — at what other time? Perhaps under Mathias Corvin, during whose reign there did not issue from the royal Hungarian chancery a single Magyar document?! And after the revival which their spirit experienced in the second half of the seventeenth century in Transylvania and with it also in Pázmány's circles, the Magyars grew and increased all over Hungary in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is, however, comprehensible that the Magyar spirit was duller, less flexible, in the eighteenth than it had been in the first half of the seventeenth century. The cultural life of a nation needs a center, a campfire; such a center was the court of the dukes of Transylvania for the Magyars, and that existed no longer in the eighteenth century, because after the *expulsion of the Turks* Transylvania, humbled by Vienna, ceased being a principality.

What such a center, such a campfire, means in the intellectual life of a nation, of that is Prague in the fourteenth century, under Charles IV., an excellent example. Even as emperor of Germany Charles IV. liked to look in the

first place after Prague and Czech affairs. The result was that whatever the Czech nation accomplished in matters intellectual, beginning with the fourteenth century, can be said to be the effect of the work of Charles. While Bohemia had its Charles IV., Poland was ruled by Casimir the Great who, as the historian of Polish culture, A. Brückner, writes — was pleased observing what was being done in Bohemia. Therefore, "as Casimir the Great observed Prague, and Poland Bohemia; everything was taken from thence, from coins to literary language." [1] During a time of such intellectual prominence of Prague the Czech literary language took such root among the Poles that even the text of the first Lord's Prayer in Polish was more Bohemian than Polish. And even afterwards remained the Polish language Czechicized unto the sixteenth century. Such a lesson helps us to explain how the Bohemian literary language got into Slovakia. We did not have a Casimir the Great, but young Slovaks also came to the university of Prague in 1347 and they brought back home a knowledge of literary Bohemian. The language of the university, of course, was Latin, but since the days of Charles IV. the sentiment

1) A. Brückner: Cywilizacja i język, pg. 52.

was in favor of a national language, the Czech language, in Prague.

From such an example we can comprehend how intellectual matters fared with us Slovaks. History of culture in Hungary is quite obscure, but among the Slovaks we know of more than one spark of intellect, if not of the first, commencing with Daniel Horčička in the sixteenth century, who among the Slavs, besides the Croatian, Križanič, was the first to speak of Slavdom. Then again, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Daniel Korman is such an enthusiastic Slovak that he derives all the other Slavonic languages from the Slovak language.[1] In that same eighteenth century Matúš Bel, in the wellknown preface to Doležal's Grammar, (1748) mentions the powerful families of Upper Hungary: the Szunyoghs, Illesházys, Thurzos, Ostrosičs, Zays, Súľovskýs, Szerdahelyis, Revays, Jušts, Otlíks, Benickýs, Plathys, Podťurňays, and others, as lovers of the Slovak language and of Slovak literature. Even in 1804, when the anti-Slav policy of the Government of Vienna had begun to mislead the Slovak lesser nobility, Anton Szirmay in a Latin book, "Hungaria in par-

1) .....our language in particular is ancient enough, Slavonic, fertile of the other languages of the world; the Czech Croatian, Russian, Polish and Moravian, Bulgarian, Serbian are from it, just as are others."

abolis", collected in verse-form, exclaimed about the 144 prominent familes: "All these know to speak Slovak well!"

Why shouldn't they — they indeed knew Slovak well; they were lovers of the Slovak language and literature, as had been confirmed by Matúš Bel; Staré Noviny of Banská Bistrica (in 1783), edited by Andrew Plachý in Turčiansky Sv. Martin, had among its subscribers mostly the families of Slovak nobility. But that was ordinary life; nothing excelled above the commonplace. Latin, which was so deeply rooted in Slovakia, by its very nature stultified the national sentiment and created a certain caste spirit, i. e., under its influence the educated, the learned, placed themselves high above the uneducated. [2] Besides, there also originated and developed Hungarism. Thus, with Latin and Hungarism, Slovak intellect remained in the bonds of the commonplace. Nothing occured which could warm it up, bring it to a glow. And in matters of intellect a special example, a deed, or a strong shock are necessary. Whence did the Králická Bible come from? From the fine mind, the power and the wealth of Charles of Žerotín, who engaged and invited

2) The domestic language, Slovak, was contemptuously called "lingua vernacula", the common language. By this was also meant the mother-language, but each of these languages was only a common language besides the Latin.

to his castle people competent to translate Bible texts.

The lovers of the Slovak language and literature, those whom Matúš Bel of Očov had quoted, and others, had been born and lived in a spirit fostered by Latin, in a spirit of Hungarism; in a merry mood they would compose a Slovak song (Emerich Pongrác: Prevez, prevez, prevozničku", or "Mám já koňa faku") or imbued with a feeling of piety a religious hymn (as for instance Ján Madáč) — and yet, they did not undertake anything on a larger scale. Under the influence of Latin the Slovaks had lived for centuries such an intellectual life as had been that of which the Magyars complain in the eighteenth century. [1)]

Then as well as before and after there were plenty of sparks found among the Slovaks, but conditions in the country had been unfavorable to them for many centuries, and in the course of time the forces which chilled, stifled and extinguished every spark, greatly increased.

And had it only been that! Much of that which becomes neglected in the days of adver-

1) How much Latin was spoken in Hungary during the reign of King Mathias in the fifteenth century, astonished Galeotti, and in the seventeenth century again Komenský (Comenius). But Komenský's experience dated from Šároš Patak, from among the Magyar Calvinists; among the Slovaks there was even more Latin used; considerably more than in any other part of Hungary.

sity in matters of intellect can be caught up with after a change of conditions. But the Slovaks declined numerically!

It is painful to think of it! As already mentioned, a contemporaneous German record has been preserved, showing that Svätopluk's army, when marching against Arnulf in 884, was seen in one place passing from morning till night — being a large force. Prior to that, in 871, near Devín, the defeat of the Germans had been such that in Bavaria, Austria and Carinthia there was not one family which would not have had to mourn some one. Could the resistance put up by Greater Moravia against the German force, pushing down the Danube, eastward, even in Rastislav's time, have been offered by a nation which was weak in numbers? And if the Slovene-Slovaks alone, even without participation of the Czechs, had created Greater Moravia, then, of course, they alone were engaged in these battles most of the time. Svätopluk's supremacy extended over some of the nearer Slavs, but the battles, in which the armies of the latter would have been also engaged on the side of Greater Moravia could have been but a few. The settlements of the Slovak-Slovenes extended to Mt. Matra, in the north-east at least to the Topl'a, from Mt. Matra downward to

Vacov; on the other bank of the Danube they extended from Tata and Ostrihom in places through a narrow belt below Vyšehrad to Budín. In this respect local nomenclature of that territory offers a rich archive. The Slovene-Slovak Pribina and his son Kocel' built Christian churches near Blatno in the second half of the ninth century. There could not have been a small number of our Slovak ancestors. Although they later perished in unfavorable circumstances, after many centuries, in the first half of the eighteenth, they represented in Hungary a numerically noteworthy force. It could be easily proven by figures that in the beginning of the eighteenth century there weren't fewer Slovaks than there were Magyars — in fact there were more. During the eighteenth century the Slovaks dwindled, perished; the Magyars especially in the second half gained a firm position, and in the book "Manch-Hermaeon" written and published in 1790, a serious author warns them not to become too expansive, because in Hungary, among a population of eight million, there were only two million Magyars. He calls their special attention to the Slavs among whom, as is known, the Slovaks formed the majority. In Pest county itself, in the heart of the country, the Magyars were in the minority in the eigh-

teenth century. The statistician Schwartzer explains in 1809 that of all the inhabitants of Hungary the Slovaks are the most prolific, or have the greatest ability to attract others. Wherever they settle among the Magyars or Germans, the Magyars or Germans will either become Slovaks after a few generations or die out completely. The Germans, who until the seventeenth century had had all the cities in their power, all the trades, especially mining and commerce, vainly objected to taking a Slovak as an apprentice into the trades — it was of no avail. Banská Bistrica is said to have resisted the law of 1608, which abolished the provision not to accept Slovaks as apprentices and into the guilds, as masters; on the strength of the new law, (of 1613) the city was fined 2000 florins, and in our days? "In our days — i. e., in 1809 — wrote Schwartzer — Banská Bistrica is almost completely Slovakized. [1]

Since the end of the eighteenth century there were fewer of such Slovaks every year. What transpired in that unfortunate country? The machinery of state had worked in such a way since the days of Joseph II., that it had a marked effect on the nationality of the po-

1) Martin Schwartzer: Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn, I. 1809, pg. 126.

pulation. About the Raab district, which consisted of the Counties of Raab, Šoproň, Mošon, Komárno, Ostrihom, Vesprim and Železná, Emperor Joseph II., wrote in an official document: "Among the inhabitants there are *some Magyars,* the majority are Croatians, and there are many Germans." And, lo, what results did the Magyars achieve within a little over a hundred years, up to the end of the nineteenth century!"

During that whole period the policy of Vienna, hostile to the Slavs, supported the Magyars even against its will. After the Ausgleich of 1867 (settlement) Vienna formally surrendered the other nationalities of Hungary to the power of the Magyars.

Besides that, the Magyars were also fortunate. Diverse circumstances helped their success. For instance, their historian says that regarding their colonization, the Slovaks blocked the road for the Germans and the Serbs, and by this very act they helped the Magyars. [1)]

History will tell in time of the great ingratitude of the Magyars towards the Slovaks.

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1) Marczali: Magyarország története II. Jozsef korában, I. pg. 233.

VI.

THE SLOVAK.

Nicholaj Gogol called the folk-songs the history of the nation, lively and lucid, disclosing all its life. Gogol was a native of Little Russia and had in mind the songs of Ukrainia; but the Carpathians extended to the vicinity of Ukrainia and Little Russians also live on the southern side of the mountains, bordering on one side with the Poles, on the other with the Slovaks.

Ján Kollár published two large volumes of Slovak songs, "Národnie Zpievanky" in 1834 and 1835. He had already furnished, together with Šafárik and Benedik, in 1823 and 1827, two charming little pamphlets. (Písně světské lidu slovenského v Uhřích). In pamphlet No. 1 there was a song:

Janík, Janík, čirý zbojník,
znáš po horách každý chodník.
V noci ideš, v noci prijdeš,
nikda mi nič nedonesieš,

len košielku urosenú
a šabličku skrvavenú.

Čiči-beli, syn môj malý!
Kebych znala, že si taký,
ako jest tvoj otec kliaty,
na kusy by ťa trhala,
strakám, vranám rozhádzala.

"Žena moja premilená,
ako si sebe spievala,
ked' si syna kolísala?"

Ved' som si ja nespievala,
len som mu tak povedala:
Čiči-beli, syn môj milý,
kebych znala, že si taký,
ako jest tvoj otec dobrý,
vo víne by ťa kúpala,
do šarlátu povíjala. [1]

(Translation.)

Janík, Janík, outright robber,
Who knows ev'ry path in mountains,
Nightly going, nightly coming,
Never bringing aught back for me,
But your jerkin, dew-becovered,
And your sword all blood bespattered.

1) Kollár's Zpievanky, II. pg. 37.

Hush-a-bye, my little sonny,
If I knew that you would turn out
Just as did your cursèd father,
I would rend you into pieces,
Throw you to the crows and magpies.

"Wife, my dear, what was it that you
Sang to yourself as you stood there
Rocking sonny in his cradle?"

Not to myself was I singing,
I was only talking to him:
Hush-abye, my little sonny,
If I knew that you would turn out
Just to be like your good father,
I would give you wine ablutions
And in scarlet wrap your body.

This song is more interesting than we imagine, after having heard it for the first time, or after the first perusal. It resounds in the Carpathians among the Slovaks, among the Russians as well as among the Poles, and even in Moravia and Silesia, with more or less variations. But from the comparison of the texts it becomes evident that the original song is *Slovak*. The song was taken over from the Slovaks in the Carpathians by the Russians and Poles, and where the Carpathians cease it took root even in Silesia and among the Mo-

ravian Slovaks. [1] Some of the texts are elaborations of the Slovak original, but in each can be distinguished its source, its Slovak origin. An interesting example of what may become of a song in the Russo-Polish-Slovak Carpathians.

Since Herder's days the Serbs had been admired among the Slavs as a nation of singers. Later the knowledge grew about the abundance of songs among the Little Russians. It is regrettable that after Kollár and Šafárik very few songs were collected among the Slovaks, and today there exist fewer songs than there had been hundred years ago. Still — we may say — even by means of present-day notation many thousands of Slovak songs are being collected. Whoever would look around thoroughly in the Carpatian Mountains would still find many examples which would prove, as does the song of the "outright robber", that even in the Carpathians the Slovaks sing most of all. The Slovak song is carried to the neighbors .... The Slovak spirit does not remain locked up.

In his history of Magyar literature Zigmund Bodnár [2] explains that the Magyar Christmas games and games played on the

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1) Jan St. Bystron: Pieśń o zbójniku i jego żonie, Prace i materiały etnograficzne, str. 59. sl., Kraków, 1927.

2) A magy irodalom története, 1891, I. pg. 105.

Epiphany contain disgusting jokes, many coarse vernacular etymologies of Latin words, and base and lewed jests. They were composed for the people by learned and half-learned persons, by some who were not competent to write verse. Still, one should not judge all these plays harshly; there are among them — Bodnár writes — also sweet products of popular poetry.

The Magyars, when desirous of showing something original in their language, gladly refer to the Göčej district, beyond the Danube, in Zalan county. Bodnár, also desirous of showing that among the unsavory Magyar Christmas and Three Kings Day's games there are also found pleasant products of popular poetry, quotes in the first place from the Göčej game:

> Pásztor*társim*, mit hallottam
> — — — — — — — — — — —
> hogy egy szüz az éjszakán
> fia*cskát* szült a szénán.
> — — — — — — — — — — —
> Pal*kó* töltsd meg kulacsodat
> friss tejjel, édessel...

But even the very first word in that text "pásztor*társim*" is not in the vernacular; the Magyars, the common people, do not speak that way, and the diminutive "fia*cskát*" is a Slovakism (synček: sonny) just as is the baptismal

name Pal*kó*. When such a Magyar text contains the name "Palkó", that is either translated or adopted from the Slovak language. [1]

Bodnár further quotes, as he quoted from "that pleasant product of popular Magyar poetry", from the Transylvanian game and in it are used the words: sajto*cskát*, vaja*cskát*, — Jézus*kának*. The originals of these words were doubtlessly Slovak. In original Magyar compositions such words are not to be found. [2]

But we can touch still another branch in the Magyar intellectual field. Ján Kollár in "Zpievanky" (1. 45.) published a composition in verse, "Siladi a Hadmázi" in 1834, from a manuscript in the care of Emerich Lauček in Malo-Hont, which the Magyars already

1) Simonyi Zs., A Magyar nyelv, Budapest 1905, pg. 89 etc., shows insufficiently the use of such Magyar names and words, adopted from the Slovak. (Boriska, Julcsa, Ferkó, mamuška, bárányka).

2) It is true, on the other side of the Danube or into Transylvania these things did not come directly from the Slovaks, but from such Magyar parts which are nearest to the Slovaks. And from the Göčej and Transylvanian examples follows that the Magyars everywhere have such things which they adopted from the Slovaks. In confirmation of this, we may quote here the unusual custom among the Slovaks on the eve of December 6th, or on "Mikuláš" Day. It is called "Mikuláš", i. e. a "Mikuláš" (like our English Santa Claus) properly attired and with proper escort, goes from home to home and distributes gifts to the "good" children. This custom is identical among the Magyars, and they do not call it "Miklós", but "Mikulás" (Mikuláš). Called thus in their language is a confirmation, almost a label, that they have this custom from the Slovaks.

had from a collection of older Magyar manuscripts. In their text was also the supplementary statement that a youth had composed it at Szendörö castle in 1571, "from the verses of a poet;[1] the Slovak text in Kollár's edition lacked the closing supplement, as the manuscript in Lauček's care was mutilated. The verses were noteworthy on the epical side; the Magyars appreciated them; in literary historical analyses they looked upon them as valuable relics. They did not permit themselves to be misled that the composition was not original — but a translation — probably from the Latin, as they claimed. The poets Vörösmarty and Gyulai made new ballads from them. However, the Slovak versification in the composition of the sixteenth century is much more fluent, and smoother than the Magyar; the language itself more original; whoever compared the texts could never believe that the Slovak composition was a translation from Magyar; but it was insufficient proof by means of which this question could have been solved. In the Magyar text the year of its origin is also given. The historians of Magyar literature therefore accused Kollár of mystification; of having published a translation of the Magyar text as a Slovak original.

1) .....egy poétának ö verseiből".

But a little hymnal came to light which had been written and illuminated at Turská Luka by the teacher Ján Liborčen in 1684. In it along which church hymns is also recorded the ballad about Siládi and Hajmázi, identical with the text in Kollár's "Zpievanky", complete, with the closing stanzas which are missing in Kollár's edition. The closing lines read:

> Roku tisic a petisteho a šesťdesateho
> po Svatom Duchu ten prvni tyden do
> kroniky zepsal jeden mladenenc (k svej)
> veselosti sobe prospevoval. Amen.
>
> (In the year one thousand five hundred and
> sixty the first week after the Holy Ghost
> (Pentecost) a youth wrote this into the
> chronicle and sang it for his enjoyment.
> Amen.)

Everything was explained. The Slovak verses had been composed in 1560, the Magyar translation, according to its date at the end, was made in 1571, eleven years later. In the closing stanza of the Slovak text there is no translation mentioned; there was no necessity of looking for Latin text — the original was Slovak. [1]

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1) More can be found on this interesting subject in: Časopis Matice Moravské, pg. 641. — Somewhere among the Transylvanian Magyars it also lives as a ballad, but its text can be recognized as having been translated from the book-

The history of the Slovaks after the downfall of Greater Moravia is still obscure, nebulous, but we know already that in the thirteenth century the Tartars were killing them; in the beginning of the fourteenth century much evil came also for the intellectual life of the Slovak parts from the struggle of Matúš Čák Trenčiansky; in the fifteenth century almost all the blows which — as I have said — the enraged Hussites had aimed against the "faithless' Zigmund, fell upon the Slovaks as being the closest to the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia. The heavy military operations of Jiskra, waged in Slovakia in behalf of Zigmund's grandchild and detrimental to the Slovaks, were like an introduction to what followed under the Turks and lasted almost two hundred years. In Slovakia from generation to generation one never knew for whom one was plowing and sowing. Whatever the Turk did not burn down or carry away, of that one was deprived by the German mercenary or the Hajduch and Kuruc. Moreover, the national spirit was stultified by Latin which, besides being used in the

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text which had been translated into the Magyar language in 1571. — The Magyar names Siládi and Hajmázi in the composition of the Slovak poet can be easily explained if we consider that the scene of action is during the Hungaro-Turkish wars and placed somewhere on the lower Danube.

church, had become rooted in our public life as nowhere else in Europe.

The stranger, already quoted, Simplicissimus, who had traveled a great deal in Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century, noted that in the Protestant churches in Slovakia he felt as if he were in Catholic churches; the ornaments of the altars had remained preserved and the vestments of the ministers were corresponding thereto. It shows that the Slovak tried to preserve everything that could have an effect on his feeling and sense even of a church which had not refrained from Iconoclasm.

The notes of Simplicissimus are excellently confirmed in the articular Evangelical churches in Paludza (Liptov), in Istebná (Orava) and in Garansek (in Zvolen), built in accordance with the law of 1681. They are frame buildings, but the Slovak masters (builders) of the village, otherwise plain, uneducated people, showed so much art in their execution that the Christians in these churches become imbued with a pious feeling, as if in the most sumptuous edifice. In the village churches of Slovakia! In the village churches in Slovakia where this artistic feeling, finding expression especially in the apparel, in the dwellings and in the songs only recently had become lost. The

great expert, professor Ján Koula believes that the dress of the ancient Slav was patterned after the costumes preserved in Slovakia to the present day.

Just as Simplicissimus so did every thinking stranger find something noteworthy among the Slovaks. In the first third of the nineteenth century Albrecht von Sydow in his book written after a prolonged study trip in the Sub-Carpathian parts mentions the Slovaks in a manner behooving a Slovak nationalist, enthused with love for his kin. He did not — he claims — see anywhere more handsome men than he did among the Slovaks. Slovak villages are expanding to the detriment of their German and Magyar neighbors. He also praises Slovak morality. When he quoted that only every 95th child among the Slovaks was illegitimate, he did not hesitate to add what a difference that made in comparison with some of the German territories where every tenth child was illegitimate. He even sees all kinds of good in the Slovak highwaymen. They are never as dangerous to merchants as are the highwaymen in other countries. One can even hear of their magnanimity. Sydow openly admits, that the character and the nationality of that epople interests him in an unusual degree. [1]

1) "Die Slowaken sind ein kräftiges, schönes, fröhliches

In the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, until the close of the sixteenth century it was difficult for the Slovaks to live near the Germans, who had been showered with privileges. In the sixteenth century, after the expulsion of the Turks, colonization in lower Hungary followed, and this was again favorable to the Germans. However, in the first third of the nineteenth century, when Sydow was traveling beneath the Carpathians, and conditions of the

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und kühnes Volk. Der Mann zeichnet sich durch einen schlanken und schönen Wuchs, starken, musculösen Körperbau und einen besonders kleinen Fuss aus. Sein wahrhaft männliches Gesicht wird von einem schwarzen Barte geziert, sein Auge ist feurig, seine Stirne frei, sein Auftreten kühn, ohne frech zu sein, ja, ich kann versichern, dasz ich nirgend schönere Männer sah, als unter ihnen. Das weibliche Geschlecht, eher klein als gross, aber breitschultrig und wohlbeleibt, steht dem männlichen weit nach. Daher bewirt sich der Slowake sehr häufig in einer fremden Völkerschaft, besonders unter dem Teutschen, um die Gattin und erhält fast nie eine abschlägige Antwort, und da die Weiber schnell die Sprache, die Sitten and die Gebräuche ihrer Männer annehmen, vermehrt sich die Zahl der Slowaken alljährlich. So erobern sie Land und Besitzungen . . . . und dadurch mag das Sprichwort entstanden sein. "Wehe Euch ungarischen oder teutschen Dörfern, wo sich Slowaken einnisteln, denn sie gewinnen Euch gewiss bald, oder rotten Euch aus." After accounting for all he liked about the Slovaks, Sydow concludes: "Alles dieses beurkundet den gutmütigen Charakter der Slowaken und, ohne das Laster nur im geringsten beschönigen zu wollen, muss ich frei bekennen, dass die Nationalität dieses Volkes mir ein ungemeines Interesse abgewonnen hat." Albrecht von Sydow: Bemerkungen auf einer Reise im Jahre 1827 durch die Beskiden über Krakau und Wieliczka nach den Central-Karpathen. Berlin, 1830, pg. 430. (pgs 334-340.)

nationalities were again stabilized, Ján Čaplovič could write, that in Hungary not one Slovak community had become Germanized. [1]

Fifty years ago there was great comment, especially among the Magyars, about a book on Hungary, written by a German from the Empire, Franz von Löher [2] as a result of things seen and experienced in loco. Löher entered the first Slovak village from below, from the Magyar part — from Zemplín county. The village was clean — the houses, he thought, would be too small for Germans, too large for Magyars, and too densely set. The women seemed to him more skilful and more willing to work than the women in a Magyar village. They also wore better clothes. Löher became aware that he was on Slovak territory. In Germany one sees the Slovaks only as wire-goods vendors (drotáre); here, in their homeland one learns to appreciate them better. It is a strong and lively nation. The men are slender, straight and graceful. Their industrious and bright women are small in comparison and would be prettier if they were less inclined to grow in width.

But Löher does not continue in this vein. Sydow had come as a savant, to study the Sub-

1) Gemälde von Ungern, 1829, I. pg. 220.
2) Die Magyaren und andere Ungarn. Leipzig, 1874.

Carpathian parts, looking impartially at objects and people — mentioning openly whatever pleasant or good traits he saw in the Slovak. Löher came as a politician to get acquainted with the conditions of the Germans of Hungary — he did not like the Slovaks as well as Sydow had liked them. He also mentions the Slovaks of the ninth century and "that splendid point of their national history." He not only mentions Rastislav and Svätopluk, but also the great work of the Slav apostles. If the Slovaks then formed the center of resistance against the Germans, they are now absorbing the Germons of Spiš county and Löher cannot speak of them with impartiality. The Slovaks — he alleges — have a particular gift of dislodging and absorbing other nations during many centuries. At first they take their daughters, then fields and meadows, and finally the houses and roads. In the wide territory in which the Slovaks live everything that is of another race falls their victim. Slovak (racial) islands are even in the Banát and wherever they settle they prosper and multiply .... The Russians hate(?) the Slovak, to the Magyar he is repulsive, the German is afraid of him. They all have cause to turn from him. He is a dangerous neighbor. Wherever he settles, his children expand, and

wherever a Slovak colony springs up it presently sends out its branches. [1)]

One can see from the tone of Löher's writing that he was disgruntled over the fate of the Germans in Slovakia. When their privileges, which had been so pronounced that, for instance, in the mining towns no one but Germans could own a house or other real property, began to be abrogated in the beginning of the seventeenth century, only one hundred to two hundred years elapsed and the victory of the Slovak element became evident. In a monograph of Zvolen county, published by the Magyar Academy, even the known Magyar fanatic Bela Grünwald, not long after Löher, lamented over the question what had become of the Germans from the territory beyond the Hron in Zvolen county.

All their colonies, up and down, left and right, from Banská Bystrica are already Slovak .... The Slovaks either dislodged their Germans, or absorbed them. During the time of Löher and Grünwald, in the second half of the nineteenth century, this was a general condition in Hungary. Except in Spiš the Germans survived only in the knot of Tekov-Turčiany-Nitra, northwesterly from Kremnica, as if under the protection of that city. But even in

1) pgs. 238, 239, 248.

Spiš every new census of the population (taken every ten years) showed them to diminish by tens of thousands. Had the Slovaks in those days not been throttled by the policy of Magyarization, then prevalent in the country, in this war of two elements the Germans would have succumbed in a much larger degree. No one among the Slavs has relatively absorbed as many Germans as did the Slovaks.

Löher, a German nationalist, was angry at the Slovaks because of their national aggressiveness, the Magyar chauvinist Géza Ballagi again looked at them askance because they did not want to learn Magyar. In the monograph of Zemplín county, also published by the Magyar Academy, Ballagi explains, that from among three nationalities living in the country, in ten years (from 1880-1890) only the Magyars had grown in numbers, though only about 3 percent, because there are only a few Germans, — a little more than 5 percent — who submit the easiest, in Zemplín county; about the Slovaks, who equal the Magyars in numbers, it is known that they stubbornly cling to their language and their customs." The Slovak allegedly learns a foreign language with difficulty — what good would it be to him! He does not need to exchange his mother language for another. "His language is of such a nature — it is claim-

ed — that it sticks to a person. If he takes service with a farmer, he teaches him his language; if the landowner is a Magyar, it is much easier, since the Magyar character likes to adjust itself to conditions. Above Nové Mesto in the homes of the nobility the servants are mostly Slovak for whose sake old and young in the household learn to speak the Slovak language. The Slovak of Trebičov, Sečov, Klačiany and Michalovce understands the Magyar language, but the Magyar coatmaker, although he does it with difficulty, speaks with him in Slovak." [1]

"How the Slovaks cling to their language — adds Ballagi — can be seen from the fact that in our mountain districts even today (in 1895) there are eight Calvinist churches in which sermons are preached either in Slovak only, or also in Slovak. From among eight, in three churches, in Sečovce, Tuš and Lastomier, the language of worship is Slovak, in the others a Magyar prayer is being read before the Slovak sermon, or every third Sunday a Magyar sermon is being preached." The pre-Tisa district, to which belongs the Upper Zemplín Seniorate, on motion of the bishop himself, has urged the Senioral authorities to "work in every possible way that in churches where until

1) Megyei monografiák Magyarország közgazdasági és közmüvelődési állapota a XIX. század végén, Budapest, 1895, pg. 154.

now the language of worship is Slovak, and until such a time, when "by diligent care it will be made possible to use our national (the Magyar) language exclusively", worship be held alternately, once in Magyar and once in Slovak. The Seniorate is also said to have introduced the necessary rule, but the Slovaks of Lastomier in particular petitioned to be permitted to remain in the old condition. Thereupon Géza Ballagi plaintively explains: "A Magyar clergyman, then — for could a Slovak clergyman originate from Šároš Patak, the theological institute of the district — is still compelled to expound to them in Slovak the principles of the Magyar faith." [2]

It is remarkable, indeed, how the Slovaks remained inaccessible to any kind of Magyar influence. Since the second half of the seventeenth century, after the awakening of the Magyar spirit in Transylvania, some of the

2) We can see with consternation from these few sentences how the Slovak Calvinists, who are called Sotaks in Slovak philology, lived until 1918. (The Sotaks say SO instead čo.) Could they have procured a non-Magyar clergyman from the theological institute of the "Magyar faith" (as Calvinism was called in Hungary)? Since 1918, under the new conditions, in the Czecho-Slovak State, it would pay to give them special attention. How are their assemblies managed when their Senioral and district authorities have remained beyond the frontiers, in Hungary? How will they get non-Magyar ministers? How about their church books whose graphics were Magyar since the eighteenth century? They were printed in Debrecín, not in Šároš Patak.

Slovak nobility Magyarized their names, but that was about all. In this respect Pázmány's era in Trnava is also noteworthy. Pázmány was indeed very much like Skarga of Poland, but more agile than the latter. The polemic works, written by him and his Jesuits, not only helped the counter-Reformation, but they also elevated the Magyar language. The effect of these works and of the intellectual life in Trnava was so strong that even among the Croatians Magyar orthography took root.

The oldest orthography of the Magyars greatly resembled that of the Slovenes of that time which, considering its Trans-Danubian origin, is comprehensible; since the fifteenth century, when Magyar youths went to the university of Prague, Czech influence is noticable on the Magyar orthography. The oldest Magyar translation of the bible uses Huss' diacritical marks. In the seventeenth century, during the era of Bethlen and Pázmány, Magyar orthography took root among the Croatians. In 1651 bishop Petretić of Zágreb published the New Testament in the Kajkav dialect, translated by Krajačević from the Magyar (Káldi translation), in Magyar orthography and with Magyar words in the text. [1] This manner of writ-

1) Szveti Evangeliomi. (Jagić, Archiv, 1906, pg. 315.)

ing took root among the Croatians to such an extent that M. Vrhovac, also bishop of Zágreb, one hundred and fifty years later, published the New Testament in similar language and in much the same orthography. It could be claimed that Krajačević, who began such Magyarization, as a priest, a Jesuit, had lived in Trnava. But how many Slovak clerics had lived in Trnava in Pázmány's time and later, during the seventeenth century, and yet there is not any effect of the Magyar intellectual life which Pázmány had awakened evident in Slovak literature of that time. The Slovaks were near Trnava, where the effects of Pázmány's spirit had been so powerful, on all sides: in the East, and West, North and South: the Croatians lived much farther away, and besides were then separated in a marked degree by the Turkish deluge, centering in Budín; fewer individuals from among them came under the spell of Pázmány than was the case among the Slovaks: yet the effects of Magyar literature, fostered in Trnava, extended over the Croatians, but did not effect the Slovaks at all. The Slovaks, in so far as their own literary production was insufficient, republished Czech books with a few adjustments in language during the second half of the seventeenth cent-

ury, during the religious war.[1] In Trnava, which in every respect was a Slovak city, Pázmány was surrounded by such a Magyar circle that the young Croatian, Mikuláš Zrinský, who to this day is the greatest Magyar epic poet, learned Magyar there. (Pázmány was the guardian of the orphans, Mikuláš and Peter Zrinský, and took them to his residence in Trnava.) Until the seventeenth century, i. e., for some six hundred years, the Slovaks had not once been culturally in such close contact with the Magyars as they were during Pázmány's time in Trnava, and yet no Magyar foisted itself to their intellectual life. The culture-words in a language show the cultural contacts of a nation in the past, and very little is found which they have in common. The Magyars, for instance, say tinta (from the Latin tincta) the Slovaks *atrament;* public life in the country left its mark with us in certain forms, and yet the Slovaks say votum, votovať (for vote, noun and verb), the Magyars voks, voksolni, etc., etc.

No — irrespective of what period we might examine, we would see that the Magyar spirit was not dangerous to the Slovaks. The Slovaks, especially since the sixteenth century, suffered much under the burden of circumstances. For

1) Jaroslav Vlček: Slov. Pohľady, 1898, pg. 289.

almost two hundred years the Turks, the German mercenaries, the hajduchs and other rebellious armies were annihilating them; on the national side they were being stultified by the Latin, and economically the German guests were greatly detrimental to them. After the collapse of the Turkish power followed colonization of the lowlands of Hungary — better said, the scattering of a considerable part of the Slovak people. Thus time, beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, which was very important for the intellectual development of the nation, found the Slovaks also greatly weakened numerically. Yet they did not shrink from the spirit of the era: since the last quarter of the eighteenth century they had such men as Papánek, Sklenár and Semian, who by the unveiling of a brighter past endeavored to exert their influence over the nation; they had teachers such as Bernolák, Fándli and even Bajza, who in heated words thundered against the ancestors who had neglected their national language — they had Rybay and Tablic, then along with others Ján Hollý, Ján Kollár and Šafárik. But again there was the condition: Vienna's policy surrendered Hungary to the power of the Magyars who were seized by an aggressive, intolerant nationalism. Every one who wanted to save his standing deserted the

Slovak cause; only the idealists remained, ever ready to fight on all sides in life; poor priests, ministers, and the teachers and intellectuals of some of the estates. From a recent book by Joseph Hanuš [1] on the part of the aristocratic families in the Czech national awakening, and from the commentary thereto by Joseph Pekař [2] we Slovaks can see that the national work could not prosper among us when from among the more powerful of the Slovak lesser nobility no one remained....

A Czech historian said about Palacký that he had been brought up in Prešporok on the Danube for the great task of reconquering Bohemia to new life. And — he alleges — this was the second time that the thought of enlightenment to Bohemia had come from this side (Slovakia). The first time it had been the work of the Slav apostles Cyril and Methodius [3] I did not agree with this interesting explanation only in so far as he (the above mentioned historian) saw in the spirit which Palacký, the student, had gathered on our Danube the spirit brought along from the German universities. The Evangelical schools in Upper Hungary were already declining in the first part of the

1) Národní Museum a naše obrození. Praha, 1922.
2) Omyly a nebezpečí pozemkové reformy, Praha, 1923.
3) Jozef Pekař, in his speech at the celebration of Palacký in the Pantheon of the Czech Museum, June 29, 1912.

nineteenth century as we can see from Šafárik.[1] The professors at the lyceum in Bratislava were superannuated to the point of dullness.[2] Palacký did not gain that spirit which later made him so meritorious in behalf of the Czech nation, from the professors of Bratislava. That spirit came to Bratislava from the Slovak villages, from Bohuslav Tablic and his contemporaries who in 1804 had established a chair of Slovak studies at the school in Bratislava. Ján Benedik, a student from Bratislava, a friend of Šafárik since his student days in Kežmark — whom Palacký gratefully mentions as his example — had his preparation not from the professors of Bratislava or Kežmark, but from a village in Novohrad — from the parish house, his parental home. Somewhat later, in 1824, in Vienna, Palacký became acquainted with the Slovak theologian Šalamún Petian who later became a renowned ornithologist in Hungary. At that time a young German, Herman Schlegel (of Saxony) became Petian's friend in Vienna; the former distinguishing himself in life as an expert in the natural sciences. After many years, in 1853, Schlegel wrote to Šala-

1) K. Jireček: Pavel J. Šafařík mezi Jihoslovany, 1895.

2) Schroeder came to the lyceum after the years of Palacký and since 1817 Palacký did not need Martini any more in this respect. He was then already under the spell of Šafárik.

mún Petian with delight from Leyden what influence in his life had had the instructions which he (Petian) had given him about the moral status of man. [1] — Benedicti, whom Šafárik gratefully mentioned, was a native of Luboreč in Novohrad county, and a son of the pastor of Abelov. As later under L'udevít Štúr, so under Palacký, the young Slovak students were seized by the sparks of the new spirit and mutually radiated warmth. We know the influence which a German university of that time left from Ján Kollár at Wartburg. The Slovak Catholics did not go to Germany, and still placed into the service of the national cause a man like Ján Hollý. In Slovakia Daniel Korman, born in 1663, already had searched for the origin of the Slavs, and Horčička — Sinapius, in the book published in 1678, gave evidence of the old writers about the Slavs, quoted great men which Slavdom had given the world, and encouraged the youths of the renowned and powerful Slovak families to interest themselves in their native language. [2]

The sparks of the spirit with which Palacký had enriched himself in Bratislava, had

1) "Die Lehren welche Du mir über den moralischen Zustand des Menschen gabst, sind für mich auf mein ganzes folgendes Leben vom grösten Einfluss gewesen."

2) Neoforum latino-slavonicum — Nový trh latinsko-slovenský. V Lěsne, 1678.

sizzled among the Slovaks from time to time — only after each flare a rude wind blew them out....

Since the second half of the eighteenth century a new spirit was born among the nations in Europe. Everything that reminded of ancestors became rare. On all sides national relics compelled attention and love, such as popular legends, songs, proverbs, sayings and customs. All that in which disclosed itself the soul of the people. Among the Slavonic nations sprang up reciprocity; one began to look after the other. Horčička's idea did not perish. Men like Ján Holly, Kollár and Šafárik were born in Slovakia. Hollý first wrote Svätopluk, an epic in 12 cantos in which for the first time after a thousand years the memory of our Slovak ancestors became revived; then the "Cyrillo-Methodiáda", as if desiring to show by the epoch-making work of the Slavonic apostles what had been accomplished among us in behalf of all the Slavs. And as Slovak, and with it Slavonic consciousness was awakened, thus also the hope took root that in an awakened great Slav family not even one of its weaker members will perish any more.

From Russia young men from among the estates began to come on study trips to the Western and Southern Slavonic countries. Is-

mael Sreznievskij, one of them, introduced himself at the parish house in Madunice, stating that in order to become acquainted with Ján Hollý he would have traveled to the end of the world, and later, in a letter to Prague he wrote about all he had found in Slovakia. Even if he would remain here many more years he would not be able to exhaust all that was rare for a philologist, ethnographer and historian. There were so many riches in the life of the Slovak villages and among the Slovak people. (But that was in 1842 and later, almost 80 years passed before we ourselves collected very little out of these riches under subsequent adverse circumstances!)

Since 1850, following in the footsteps of the high-spirited Božena Němcová, Czech artists visited Slovakia and the art of the excellent Manes, one can say, got its character here. From among the younger generation the alert Miloš Jiránek described enthusiastically all he had seen, explored and conceived in the Slovak village. Jóža Úprka left his dear Moravia and lives in Slovakia! The late Ján Koula who became acquainted with us at an exhibition of Slovak costumes in Turč. Sv. Martin (in 1887), later, while going about with Sreznievskij, enthusiastically noted down his experiences in Gemer, Malohont and Novohrad, "what a mass

of highly interesting ethnographic and artistic material" had presented itself to him even during his initial steps. "It was almost difficult for me to break away from this new source. I returned after a year and would have come a third and fourth time...." [1] The folding of the Slovak woman's attire (vrapovanie: sharp folds, laid while the goods is damp, and dried in the sun) Koula [2] considered as being very ancient, of an archaic character and likened it to the folds in the clothes of ancient Greece; he considered this, with the embroidery which he had seen on the sleeves of women's blouses in Topolčany as having possibly originated in prehistoric times. Koula fancied the attire of the ancient Slav after that of the Slovak of the nineteenth century. — "In the Slovak parts of Hungary — wrote Joseph Klvaňa, an expert of Moravian costumes, after the exhibition in Pest in 1896 — an almost archaic character has been preserved in almost everything; in dress, in its ornaments and in dwellings." In the seventeenth century Czech Protestants from Bohemia and Moravia, persecuted at home, moved to Germany and the neighboring parts of Slovakia, into Prešporok,

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1) Slovensko, Prémie Umělecké Besedy na rok 1901, pg. 132.

2) Český Lid, I. 26, IV, 459.

Upper Nitra and lower Trenčian counties. The characteristic parts of this Renaissance of industrial art which were transfered here to Slovak ceramics and to embroidery are distinguishable also on the illumination of the letters of the hymnals of that period. "Otherwise there is not even the slightest trace of Czech or Moravian influence. The bonds between Hungary and us, fastened in the sixteenth century by faith and literature, and reinforced by the friendly welcome to immigrants to Hungary in the seventeenth, were completely severed in the eighteenth century. *The influence evident in the seventeenth century was completely absorbed by the elementary force of the Slovak people, a characteristic popular ornament fully taking its place in Slovakia."* [1]

It was very difficult, and in the last part of the nineteenth century almost impossible to even note down a song in a Slovak village; whoever showed himself there with paper and pencil was turned back whence he had come. [2] Of our own people we had fewer every year and experts were not permitted to come among us. It was as bad as it had been before under the Tartars, Polovci, Germans under the policy

1) Český Lid, VI, 507.

2) This has been attempted by Prof. J. Baudoin de Courtenay and Dr. A. Frinta.

of Magyarization .... *But the Slovak saved his countenance, his soul.* Ernest Denis also sensed this to be able to write: "From among all the Slavs the Slovaks, having very little succumbed to foreign influence, certainly represent most truthfully the primary type of the race. In this respect they greatly resemble the Great Russian."[1] Magyar historians of culture and literature are wringing their hands as to what had been the matter with the Magyar spirit at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century; how the people had succumbed to the German spirit and wrote in the Magyar language on German themes.[2] Nothing like that existed among us. Indeed, as in the ninth century the Slovak Rastislav — he who had caused the Slavs to procure a Slavonic Church and Slavonic literature — with the Slovak Svätopluk stopped the pressure of the Germanic world down the Danube, eastward, with armed force, so after centuries, regardless of the force of adverse circumstances, the Slovaks did not succumb intellectually to German force. They immediately freed themselves from the pressure of their Germans when in the seventeenth century their extensive privileges

1) Revue Bleu, June 28, 1919.

2) Császár Elemér: A német költészet hatása a magyarra a 18. században. (Edition of the Magyar Academy, 1913.)

terminated. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the statistician could claim that not one Slovak village in Hungary had become Germanized. [1]

The Slovak very seldom changes his countenance. Especially Magyar he learned with difficulty. "The Tragedy of Man", the pride of Magyar literature was prepared for print by Ján Arany, a native of Bihar and a Calvinist, and still Slovakisms can be found in the work, and Madáč's Slovak origin can be recognized. The schools were already completely Magyar, and Louis Mocsáry wrote that there were no foreign attachments to the language of the Magyars living among the Rumanians and the Serbs, but the Magyars of the Slovak parts — he alleges — speak a peculiar Magyar. [2] Here Mocsáry is mistaken, calling the Slovak lesser nobility Magyars, but his opinion is very good proof in this respect. They were Slovaks who spoke that peculiar Magyar, i. e., it was difficult for them to learn Magyar. [3] In substance this also elucidates the fact long ago mentioned by Slavonic dialectologists that in

1) J. Csaplovics. Gemälde von Ungern, 1829, I. 220.

2) A regi magyar nemes. Budapest, 1889, pg. 213.

3) The magyars have expressions such as tótos (adj.) tótosan (adv.) for instance: tótosan beszélni :: to speak in Slovak fashion, but they do not have them about the Rumanians not the Serbs. But about the German németes, németesen, is also used.

our Sub-Carpathian East the Slovak language spreads at the expense of Russian.[1] In the West again, in the neighborhood of the Poles even Polish science mentions "Slovak influence" in the Polish frontier langue, (wplywy slowackie) from Jablonkov into Spiš.[2] That also indicates that the Slovak remains true to himself; intellectually he most frequently preserves his countenance, his soul. He will sooner squeeze another than yield, even in the hard, elementary struggles.[3]

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1) Olaf Broch writes among other things: Zum Kleinrussischen in Ungarn. Archiv für Slavische Philology XIX, pg. 17— In his book "Slovenská reč a jej miesto v rodine slovanských jazykov" Cambel has a whole chapter on the aggressive force of the Slovak language in the East.

2) Zawilinski, Potkanski, Kazimier, Nitsch.

3) Národnie Noviny, 1926, No. 1.

VII.

A LESSON FROM THE PAST OF THE GERMANS IN SLOVAKIA.

In connection with the fact of the Germans between the Carpathians and the middle Danube succumbing in the elementary struggle with the Slovaks a little more might be said.

The Germans of the former Hungary are a peculiar example — an example of the manner in which the intellectual light of a national branch weakens if severed from its trunk. Our Germans were indeed showered with privileges and enjoyed such a broad autonomy that their municipalities in fact were a state within a state. Alongside of them, with their privileges, no other city than a German one could develop, nor another element of citizenry, but German. A Magyar cultural historian [1] complains that at the end of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth from Pest to Varadín and Szegedin there was not one real

1) Századok: 1874, pg. 4.

(Magyar) city. Had he looked around in Upper Hungary he would have seen some frightful conditions. There existed for over four hundred years some kind of province without civic rights, and above it the privileged estates — the German cities, and in the village the lesser nobility. But what else? The Germans enjoyed their properties, gained through mining, the industries and commerce — but nothing else. Intellectually they had no significance. One can say that intellectually they only vegetated in these favorable circumstances. They did not accomplish anything that would have penetrated the walls of their cities in the six hundred years of history. There was a time when the larger villages such as Mošovce, Necpaly, Bánovce, Kameňany had schools which were intellectually more significant than those of Kremnice or Bistrice, which were oversatiated with privileges. The surrounding Slovak villages protected the proud German cities even during the Turkish wars. In the rebellions of the seventeenth century they allied themselves here with one party, there with the other, according to whence was promised the greatest security. There is no example of their exposing themselves even so much as to the defense of their own city — for they never felt any particular patriotism — and there were

many opportunities. Or, let us say, what has sprung from the great mass of such a progressive nation during so many centuries in the field of art? The German world in Hungary did not get the poet Lenau until the nineteenth century, but his father was a non-Hungarian German, an Austrian officer sent hither — only his mother being a German from Budín. Here were born the artist Liszt and the professor of anatomy Hyrtl, but the one as well as the other sprang from Trans-Danubian Germans, in Šopron county, on the Hungaro-Austrian frontier where that separation from the German trunk did not exist and where the frontier was only a political one — and then in reality existed only on the map.

Recently, in 1902, the Magyars celebrated two memorable events of the past. At first the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the defense of the poorly equipped castle Driegel (in Hont) where Juro Sondy (on July 9, 1652) died a hero against the tens of thousands of soldiers of Ali Pasha of Budín. They searched and rummaged the archives on this occasion (how well they knew where, when the stake was a famous man whom they wanted to appropriate for themselves) to learn who had been the hero of Driegel, from what stock he had come. But it was revealed that his rightful

name was Šuho and that he had been reared with the Revays at Sklabín castle. With the name Šuho and raised in Sklabín castle he certainly was a Slovak from Turčian county. — The second jubilee was that a regiment of Hussars had existed for two hundred years which derived its name from the famous general Hadik who had distinguished himself during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) by the humiliation of Berlin. In this case they also examined the origin of the hero, but found that the grandfather of the general, Count Hadik, had been a Slovak pastor, born from common people in a Turiec village and that his name had been Hadík .... I mention this only because these celebrations had been so recently — only in 1902. I do not intend to cite all the excellent people whom the Slovaks, even in the days of step-motherly treatment, had given to the country and its intellectual life. But it proves about the Germans of Upper Hungary that a part of a nation torn away from its trunk is incapable of intellectual development. Their privileges having lost force the burghers of the cities scattered all over the country.

It is also instructive that in the Slovak language the majority of German words is not taken from the local Germans. Our Ger-

mans in the large cities were very exclusive: a Slovak could not get into a guild; he could not own real estate; the Slovaks, therefore lived a life of their own beside the German cities. From the known jurisprudence of our Germans only one word took root in the Slovak language: *rychtár* (Richter). It was not so with the Poles; there the language of public life from the thirteenth until the sixteenth century was flooded with German words, although the Poles up to the twelfth century (as long as the Slavs survived on the Elbe and the Oder) did not live in the immediate proximity of the Germans. But in Poland, regardless of how it had been overrun by Germans since the thirteenth century, the Germans did not have such idiotic privileges as they had in Hungary.[1] (In Bohemia there was a law which imposed upon the Germans the obligation to learn the Czech language.) In Poland the privileges did not secure for the Germans that seggregation and that forcing out of the native ele-

1) In 1608 (article 23 of the law) and in 1609 (article 64), the legislatures of Hungary were compelled to pass acts according to which in the royal free and mining cities as well as in the privileged towns besides the Germans, the Magyars and Slovaks have a right to acquire houses and to be elected to offices. But this met with poor results, for in the legislature of 1613 there was a complaint against Banská Bistrica that it violates the laws of 1608 and 1609.

ment: there (in Poland) the natives could live in the cities with the Germans. By this fact it is explained how it happened that more German words entered the Polish language than had entered our Slovak.

It is true, there are very few German words in the Slovak language which are derived from the Germans of Hungary, although otherwise it contains quite a number. But when we observe those German elements in the Slovak language well, that separation of the Slovak territory from the Moravians, Czechs and Poles, as one would imagine from the history of Hungary written by a Magyar, does not become obvious. Let us stop at the word *soltys*. In Polish it sounds soltys and exactly alike in Slovak. Thus signed his name the excellent pastor of Ivančiany, Andrew Šoltys, the author of many Slovak books, in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially of that "Apologia"[1] which owing to its energy and other good points until recently had been attributed to Kollár. I am taking just this word from among many because it

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1) Apologia, i. e., a defense with which renegades who have abandoned their nationality, desire to defend themselves; however, those who remained loyal may strengthen themselves by its means. Written by Ondřislaw z Prawdomluwic. In Budín, 1841.

signifies an institution in Poland and in former Upper Hungary. From the German schulteis (schultheisze), schoultisse, scholtesz (and that from the latin scultetus), the Polish and the Slovak languages have a word sounding the same in the one as in the other, although no common phonetic law of our language requires it. That could not have happened by accident; there must have been some connection in life. And really, Joseph Hradský copied from the archive of the Spiš chapter that in 1244 scultetus Henrich obtained from Prince Boleslav of Cracow and Sandomir the right of colonizing Podolín in Spiš, which had fallen into decay after the Tartar catastrophe. [1] Thus we understand why we pronounced the word soltys the same way as the Poles. We also see that the right to colonize Spiš was given by the *regent of Cracow*. What a surprise about the frantier between Poles and Slovaks even in the thirteenth century. [2] We comprehend why it is that we Slovaks have so many culture-words in common with the Poles. Slovak history, however, has many more such points which will

1) Hradszký, J.: Szepesvármegye a mohács vész elött. 1888, pg. 13.

2) It would not be difficult to collect such evidence. In the beginning of the twelfth century the bishop of Cracow demanded one tenth as revenue of Northern Spiš. (Pauler: Nagyarország története az árpádh, kir.a., I. pg. 481.)

help to elucidate the evidence preserved in the language.

Those German words which the Slovaks have in common with the Czechs and Poles, let it be understood, did not come from the Germans of Hungary, of Slovakia — they had found their way into the Slovak language even before the thirteenth century, when we lived with the Germans only as frontier neighbors.

It would have been only natural had the Germans, so favorably situated among us, and so privileged, also accomplished something in matters of intellect and become our teachers. But no such thing is evident in that period. The privileges of the Germans remained in force to the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and it can not be seen from any evidence that during that time, some four hundred years, intellectual life in Upper Hungary had been elevated by their efforts. In fact they did not even muster as much spirit as would have been necessary for the defense of their own cities. In many parts of Slovakia the tradition of the Slovak youth who had distinguished himself in battles against the Turks during the Turkish era is preserved. Far and wide the Turks were afraid of Vávro Brezuľa of Lubietov; their bands of robbers only showed up in the vicinity of Lubietov when they were

certain that Brezul'a was not at home. About the Germans in Slovakia there is no such record, no such tradition, anywhere. The late Artur Odeschalchi stated that the Turks surely were attracted by the gold of the mining towns. They could not get near them because the mining towns had a bulwark of Slovak villages surrounding them. The Slovak villages, in defending themselves, defended also the Germans in their rich cities.

It was ever thus — a national branch severed from its trunk weakens.

VIII.

ABOVE THE ABYSS.

In 1818 Baron Aloysius Mednyánsky described in the German newspaper "Hesperus", published in Prague, the cultural conditions of Nitra county in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was already one hundred years after the expulsion of the Turks and the smothering of the rebellions against Vienna and the Hapsburgs: We can, therefore, form an idea from the description of Medňansky how intellectual life developed also in other parts of Slovakia after that long period of misery and decline. It is, of course, necessary to bear in mind that a considerable part of Nitra county, owing to its location, was to some extent protected from the Turkish devastion, and that the decline here might have been less acute. It is necessary to keep in mind that owing to the proximity of the Nitra territory to the West and Vienna, neglects in matters intellectual were easier repaired. In Nitra many things were easier caught up with also because of the fertility of the

blessed soil, amid greater material welfare. The principal city of the county was also the residence of a rich bishopric.

How, then, stood matters according to Medňansky's description, in the first place with the schools. There was a gymnasium (secondary school) for Catholic youths in Nitra, in the hands of the Piarist brethren, which was Latin, had six grades, with six professors and a seventh a principal. Every year there were from three to four hundred students. In less expensive times, about the middle of the eighteenth century, when a convent for pupils from among the lesser nobility was also attached to the institution, and studies cost less, there were even twice as many students in the gymnasium of Nitra. A second gymnasium was in Prievidza, also conducted by Piarists, with six professors and a principal. A third, called a lower gymnasium, was in Skalica, which was Franciscan, with four professors and a principal, and consisted of four grammar grades.

Besides these gymnasiums Nitra county had also five normal or preparatory schools where students were being prepared for the gymnasial or Latin grades. Such a school was in Nitra with three teachers and one principal; another in Nové Zámky, in Prievidza, with two teachers and one principal (also Piarists), in

Skalica and Nové Mesto also with a principal and two teachers. In the schools pupils from all estates were taken and tuition was free. For the education of Catholic priests there was a seminary for fifty theologians in Nitra. Besides that the Piarists had their novitiate in Prievidza, where philosophy was being taught, and a theological college in Nitra. The Franciscan order had a novitiate in Nitra and a another in Nové Mesto.

The Protestants maintained a normal school, with one or two teachers, who were subordinated to the pastor, in every larger community. They had no gymnasiums in Nitra county, but sent their sons to gymnasium either to Modrá or to the lyceum in Bratislava where they could later study the advanced sciences. — Each village had its own school and in it the sexton most frequently would teach reading, writing and some arithmetic, while the pastor looked after the instruction in religion. But school was frequented only in winter; when work on the farm commenced the parents needed their children at home and in the fields. For this reason little benefit came from such schools.

In 1818 Medňansky could not report a library or any other educational collection in the whole great county of Nitra. The teaching

equipment in the schools was very poor, or lacked altogether. There was a library comprising a few thousand volumes, in the chapter of Nitra, but they were mostly from the older times and largely theological works — but very little of the new literature. The Piarists in Nitra and Prievidza also maintained library rooms, containing old works, mostly of a theological nature, but only for their own use. From among private individuals who had their own libraries, Baron Medňansky mentions Count Erdödy in Hlohovec and Baron Zay in Bučany. Zay's library in Bučany was said to be noteworthy on account of the unusual completeness of the works of the new literature.

There was only one printing plant in all Nitra county, in Skalica. It published nothing but Slovak books, and these only of a religious character.

Post offices were only in Holič, Hlohovec, Nitra, Ripňany, Žabokreky, Vesternice, Bojnice and a half-hearted attempt to one in Nové Mesto.

In Medňansky's description there are very valuable ethnographic sketches. He, a collector of Slovak folklore, traditions, legends and songs, did not omit to mention the particular proclivity of the Slovak people to song. But what else could he have noted down from the

life of the Slovak people of Nitra county as they were then? Ján Hollý, as a poet, had only begun to create. In Medňansky's time especially the higher classes of the Slovak nobility already had begun to join Magyarism. And even he, Aloysius Medňansky, whom Ján Hollý knew as a neighbor and called "an upright Slovak", died in 1844, already a member of the Magyar Academy.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, when among the nations of Europe a new enlivening spirit began to awaken, things already fared badly with us. Ardent hearts and thoughtful heads were born, but all the conditions for development were lacking: there was neither a person nor an institution on which intellectual efforts could lean for support. Sons of Slovak mothers, born to contribute to the elevation of their nation, partly could not develop at all, and partly landed on foreign soil and enriched the intellectual and material capital of others.

Foreign soil....! It is painful to think of it. Even in the first half of the eighteenth century they called Matúš Bel, pastor and professor of Prešporok, the son of Biel — Funtík and Mary Česnek, a native of Očov", a great ornament of Hungary" (magnum decus Hungariae). He was indeed a great man for Hungary, a special phenomenon — an ornament —

Hungary had cause to be grateful. But he worked harm to his kin by the sole glorification of Hungary. [1] From the second half of that century we can take Samuel Tešedík, a descendent of a Slovak family from Trenčiany. As pastor of Sarvaš he succeeded in 1799 in procuring from the widow of Baron Harucker 45 yokes of ground in the lowlands, on which he founded a practical school of agriculture which became very useful to the development of agriculture in the country. Later, in the nineteenth century, Georgikon, the institute of Count Festetič, in Kesthele, enjoyed a good reputation on the other bank of the Danube. But without the school of Tešedík there hardly would have been a Trans-Danubian institute. When Festetič conceived the idea for such a venture he went for instruction to Tešedík in Sarvaš. Emperor Joseph II. did not omit decorating the Slovak pastor of Sarvaš; afterwards he also received deserved appreciation from Leopold II. and Francis I. Or Adam Francis Kollár, a great man for Vienna, in the eighteenth century, was also a Slovak of Trenčiany, from Terchova — whence a generation before him had sprung Jánošík. The Hungarian historian Palma was from Ružomberok, in Liptov.

1) To Bel is also attributed the phrase: "Extra Hungariam non est vita", and under his own picture he wrote: O, cara patria, quae me genuisti, dulcis Panonia!

The Slovaks did not sleep, they arose in time — but they had to cope with unfavorable conditions. The Germanic world's attention had been called to the peculiarity of folkloristic poetry by Herder, (Stimmen der Völker in Liedern) — (thus we were taught and thus we are teaching) — and inspired by him people began to copy also among the Slavs, and collect the products of that poetry. But among us the priest of Malohont, Matúš Holko (born in 1719) collected Slovak songs when Herder (born in 1744) had not been born yet. We have charming proofs of this in "Zpievanky" published by Kollár. Bee-culture, as we know it today, with hives which can be folded and taken apart, is the invention of Ján Dzierzon; but Ján Dzierzon was not even born when our George Fándli, (1754-1810) in his book "Slowenski Wčelár", published in Trnava in 1802,[1] already taught the care of bees, "in storage chests, and not in blocks, stands or in baskets."

The keener spirits among the nations of Europe began to turn their eyes on the past in order of gathering encouragement for their national efforts from the memorable deeds of their ancestors. In 1780 George Papánek published a book "De regno regibus Slavorum" in which he attempted to present the Slovak deeds

1) Ján Dzierzon was born January 6, 1811.

from the time of Greater Moravia. The fables of the Anonymus Notary (Anonymus Belae regis notarius) which hurt the Slovak cause even in the nineteenth century, were splendidly contraverted by our George Sklenár (professor of Prešporok) in his book of 1784.[1] He (Sklenár) claimed with justification against the anonymous notary, that Arpád did not conquer the territory between the Carpathians and the Danube (the Trans-Váh territory); Croatia had not been touched by the Magyars; Salan was an invented person; in general, the anonymous notary cannot be regarded as an historic source.[2] The first history of Slovak literature was written by Paul Valaský, pastor of Jelšava.[3] The founder of Slavonic philology, Joseph Dobrovský, had no better assistant in his work than our George Rybaj. Rybaj's contemporary was Stephen Leška, without whose "Elenchus vocabulorum europaerorom cumprimis Slavicorum Magyarici usu", written in the dawn of Slavistic,[4] there would have hardly been pos-

1) Vetustissimus Magnae Moraviae situs.

2) Katona at once defended the Anonymous very stubbornly, and even the Magyar historians fought for him over a hundred years, even after Katona. Not until 1900 Pauler admitted that with the Anonymous there can be no talk of exact historic dates, and the slandered Sklenár received satisfaction. (Pauler Gyula, A Magyar nemzet története Szent Istvánig, pg. 231.)

3) Conspectus reipublicae literariae in Hungaria, 1785.

4) Published after the author's death, Budín, 1825.

sible that important work of Miklosich "Die slavischen Elemente im Magyarischen" in the second half of the nineteenth century. Oscar Asbóth, professor of Slavonic languages at the university of Budapest, who also had contributed in this respect much of elucidating material in more than thirty years, called attention to this relationship of Miklosich with the work of Leška, [1] but honestly admitted that the Magyar linguists erred when they imagined that after the work of Miklosich the work of Leška had become useless. [2] When Dobrovský's German Bohemian Dictionary (Deutsch-Böhmisches Wörterbuch 1802) was in preparation, Leška lived in Prague and from the material collected by Dobrovský compiled a dictionary before his return to Hungary. — The Magyar science glorifies the pastor of Slovenská Cinkota, Samuel Petian, a collector of Slovak songs and traditions, born in 1790 in Abelov, as the founder of Hungarian ornithology.

It is painful for a Slovak to open a bibliographic work, such as Szinnyei's "Magyar irók élete és munkai".Ballagi was right indeed when saying that it was hard for a Slovak to learn

1) "Leška war, wie es scheint, die Hauptquelle, aus welcher Miklosich bei seiner . . . . Abhandlung schöpfte." Archiv für slavische Philologie. XXII, pg. 478.

2) Asbóth Oszkár: Szláv szók a Magyar nyelvben, Budapest, 1893, pg. 43.

Magyar; even the honest Louis Mocsáry, in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the Slovak nobility in the second generation began to pass for Magyars, wrote about them that they speak a peculiar Magyar.[1] Indeed all we elder persons know from the Magyar schools what kind of torture instrument the Magyar language had been for the Slovaks youths. But since the second half of the eighteenth century conditions in the country had shaped themselves in such a manner under the policy of Vienna that it drove water upon the Magyar mill. As from above all the waters flowed into the basin of the Danube and the Tisa, so did the Slovaks, as if carried by the waters of their rivers, come down from above, and there became lost in the foreign element.[2]

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1) A regi magyar nemes, Bpest, 1889, pg. 213.

2) The administrators of the Czecho-Slovak state should have this location in Slovakia, inclined towards the South, constantly in their mind, not only when building railroads, but also when founding larger industrial establishments and creating commercial centers, and in places where the Slovak rivers have wider valleys, to create settlements and trade centers in which life would pulsate; in which the industrious would not have to be afraid of his future and in which those who seem to be carried away by the waters from above could catch a hold and not become lost farther away in a foreign element. Thus — those who transfer the larger industrial establishments, especially from these parts, into Bohemia, injure the Czecho-slovak state. Whoever stopped work in the railroad shops in Zvolen, which gave livelihood to 4,000 people, is worse than any enemy of our state.

From this one gathers that painful impression obtained from looking into such a Magyar bibliographic work. On some pages a good half of the family names of the authors are Slovak.

The first translator of the New Testament into Magyar, Benedik Komjáthy also was a Slovak. In the university of Vienna he registered in 1529 as Benedictus Comjathinus, taking his name from his birthplace, Komjatice, in Nitra. A year later, after his return, the Turks pillaged and burnt down the lower part of Nitra and he escaped to Eastern Hungary, to Hust. He very likely learned Magyar only there and as tutor in the home of Lady Perényi he translated the epistles of St. Paul. They were printed in Cracow (1533): Epistolae Pavli lingua hungarica donatae. Az Zenth Paal leuelei magyar nyelven". It is the oldest Maygar book.

Thus it went on, especially since the second half of the eighteenth century, up to Petöfi and Kossuth, and from them again until 1918. Partly as a result of the fate of their ancestors, partly by their own fate, the Slovaks were carried downward and got into the service of the Magyar national cause. Kossuth's father, an attorney, left the village of Košúty, in Turčian county, for Monok, in lower Zemplín. Mary Hrúza, a girl — also from Turec — from Liešný, left with her uncle, a teacher,

for Aszód and there made the acquaintance of the journeyman-butcher Štefan Petrovič, a Slovak from Novohrad[1] and from their marriage sprang a son, Alexander Petöfi, since 1840 the pride of Magyar literature, and a special inspiration of the Magyar spirit.[2] From Madác's "Tragedie človeka", which the Magyars also hold in very high esteem, one can notice that its author had read "Paměti celému světu tragoediu o pádu prvních rodičů (1791)", the work of August Doležal of Sučiany.

Under the anti-Slav policy of Vienna, which helped the Magyars even where it was not intended, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century conditions in Hungary were such that an educated Slovak could earn his bread only as a priest, minister or a teacher. Even a man like Šafárik, after his return from the German university, was compelled to seek refuge in Nový Sad, among the Serbs, who had

1) His ancestors had lived in western Slovakia long ago.

2) George Kossuth in Turec, in Košúty, possessed a strong Slovak sentiment and corresponded with Ján Kollár on Slovak national affairs, and later with Ľudevít Štúr. In my recollection of fifty years it was said about his wife how embittered she was when Louis Kossuth as a leader of the Magyar movement before 1848 took such a fanatical stand against the Slovaks. "Now", she said once, "was it necessary for me to drag the youngster out of that manure pit?" (As a little boy Louis, when his parents had come with him from Monok to Košúty, had fallen into the manure pit somewhere in the corner of the yard, and his aunt had pulled him out.)

in their Orthodox Church a protection for their national cause. There Šafárik lived, aside from his duties as professor, only among books and old writings. The events in the Slovak nation and among the Slavs in general affected his sentiment and thought, as it scarcely affected others, but he shunned politics and remained a parlor savant. And yet, he had no peace from Metternich's minions: at first they compelled him to resign as principal of the gymnasium, and later he could not endure it in Nový Sad. It also grieved him to see how easily the Serbs yielded to conditions and how they endeavored to learn Magyar. In 1832 Šafárik persuaded Ján Kollár, who wanted to abandon his position in Pest, to persevere, but a year later, in 1833, he himself was already in Prague, though not to better his position, for he lived there on bread of grace, offered by those people who wanted to have Šafárik in Prague in behalf of the national cause. In some manner Kollár still kept his position in Pest. But how matters stood with him can be seen from the fact that he could not even get married. He kept company with his Mina or Friedericke, since 1818, but only ventured marrying and bringing her to the parish in Pest — though it was a Slovak parish — in 1836, when he was forty-three years old.

The followers of Bernolák, or rather the Catholic Slovaks, who at the end of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the general awakening of the nations, had begun to write in Slovak, formed a learned Slovak society based on a broad foundation, and a short time afterwards they produced a great dictionary of Slovak words, [1] but they died out and new forces did not enlist under such unfavorable conditions. It was of no avail that from their school sprung the great poet Ján Hollý, who besides his most beautiful Slovak idylls (selanky) created the epic poems "Svätopluk", "Cyrilo-Methodiáda" and "Sláv", which have no parallel among the Slavs. [2] In 1834 the followers of Bernolák, together with Ján Kollár, founded "Spolok milovníkov rečí a literatúry slovenskej" in Pest, but the society was refused a permit.

Fortunately, in 1803, the Slovak Evangelicals had established out of their own means a chair for the study of the Slovak language at the lyceum of Prešporok. Much good emanated from there in afteryears. In the circles of the

1) Slowár Česko-Latinsko-Německo-Uherskí. 1825-27.

2) When in 1841 the Russian professor I. Sreznievskij appeared in the parish of Madunice, and the poet was astonished over the visitor from so far away, Sreznievskij told him in all sincerity that "to become acquainted with Ján Hollý he would have gone to the very end of the world."

young students since 1836 L'udovít Štúr began to become prominent. He also succeeded in getting on the chair for Slovak studies as substitute of the superannuated profesor Palkovič. To the Slovak campfire in Bratislava came also Serb and Croatian youths. Societies, such as that in Bratislava, were founded in other schools of Upper Hungary: the Slovak students of both faiths established among themselves a stimulating contact through correspondence. They encouraged one another in their preparation for life. When L'udevít Štúr, in 1843, was removed from the chair in the lyceum, the students came to his home in the evening (in order not to be seen) and there studied and prepared for the tasks which awaited them in life.

The society of lovers of the Slovak language and literature, founded by Catholics, perished, owing to the refusal of a permit. The Lutherans then started a new one which they called "Tatrín." That also was refused a permit. Another adverse condition was that the Catholics still adheared to the literary language of Bernolák, based on western Slovak, and the Lutherans already wrote in middle Slovak which had been introduced by the movement in Bratislava. To the slogan issued by "Tatrín" in 1847 the one and the other met in Čachtice in

the Catholic parish, and by a beautiful, memorable act agreed on middle Slovak as the common literary Slovak language.

But the Slovak patriots did not hide even in the stormy years of 1848-49. Štúr, Hurban and Hodža taught their people to be prepared for the service of noble aims, and to die for them. True enough, Vienna, even after 1849, remained true to type. Russian power and Russian armies had protected her during the Magyar revolution, but in the internal affairs of Austria and Hungary, Vienna remained as anti-Slav as she had ever been. After the war with Italy (1859) the Slovaks finally succeeded in building their "Matica Slovenská" and began to found schools and gymnasiums out of their own resources. But one more war broke out (in 1866) and in it Vienna was broken, or rather, the Hapsburgs settled with the Magyars, placing all the other nations of Hungary into their power. The Magyars then set out, at break-neck speed, to Magyarize the country. The machine of state, placed completely into the service of Magyarism, worked so brutally, that only such people could remain under the Slovak flag who were ready to fight always and on all sides. "Matica Slovenská" and the Slovak gymnasiums, founded in the sixties, were abolished in 1874 and 1875. The Magyars gradually con-

ducted instruction in the schools in such a way that finally even in the remotest Slovak hamlet Magyar was the language of instruction. Of course, in matters material everything was ruined in the same way as in matters intellectual. Officially and in the press of the Government it was broadcast that the spirit of the Slovak gymnasiums and the Matica was anti-Magyar and dangerous to the country; but when in Turčianský Sv. Martin, where the Matica and the gymnasium had been established, a society of Slovak women wanted to open a school in which girls would learn to cook and sew, the permit was also refused. Again, when here, in Turčianský Sv. Martin, Slovak patriots built a large factory along the Turec river for the manufacture of celulose, the authorities did not permit this factory to start, allegedly, because the liquid waste from the machinery, emptied into the river would poison the fish. The factory was taken over by another company, whom the authorities themselves had located somewhere in Transylvania, then the factory could be opened the very first day and merrily operate— nothing happened to the fish in Turec river. [1]

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1) It is very peculiar that they (the Magyars) did not treat the Serbs or the Rumanians as brutally as they did the Slovaks. How they considered the Slovaks and how the Serbs

Under these conditions there could not be gained more people for the services of the Slovak national cause; to the contrary, there were fewer and fewer every year. And worst of all, the Slovaks almost ceased going to school.

Slovak parents, even such whose national sentiment had not been awakened, observed that the Magyar school was not good for their sons; that it was unfavorable — they stopped sending them there. For some thirty to thirty-

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— in this matter offers the Magyar "Pallas nagy lexikona" interesting proof on "Matica". Matica Slovenská — they alleged — was managed by people who in the years 1848-49 and later, under absolutism, were of an anti-Magyar spirit. They cared less for dissemination of Slovak literature than for dissemination of anti-patriotic and anti-Magyar spirit. They published almanacs, historic and belletristic works by means of which the Slovak national spirit was being awakened and hatred against the Magyars spread. Thus — it is alleged — when Bela Grünwald, vice-ispan (vice-high commissioner) of Zvolen county, called the countries attention to the anti-patriotic transgressions of Matica Slovenská and the Slovak gymnasiums, "under the strong pressure of agitation against them", and for the political transgressions which were proven against them, ordered Matica to be closed. Thus writes "Pallas" about our Matica. In that same article, the same author, writes completely to the point, even praisingly, about Matica Srbská. "This latter — according to the author — is the literary center of the Hungarian Serbs and its excellent management is mostly due to its secretary, Anton Hadžić." The management of Matica Slovenská prior to its being abolished was conducted by Viliam Pauliny-Tóth and Francis Sasínek and, indeed, I should not like to deprive them of any credit — but if they were zealous Slovaks and Slavs, the secretary of Matica Srbská, Anton Hadžić was no less zealous and active as a Serb or as a Slav, than they had been, and he received such praise from a Magyar Court of Judgment, before which the Slovaks Tóth and Sasí-

five years, until 1918, there used to be in a classroom only six to seven students in the secondary schools in Upper Hungary, and these were either from the families of officials, or Jews.

A terrible condition! In the seventeenth century, and even in the first half of the eighteenth century some industries in Slovakia were so well developed that they competed with goods from beyond the frontiers; at home, in

nek had lost! In this Magyar encyclopedia Joseph M. Hurban is introduced in the very first sentence as a "Panslav agitator", Michael M. Hdoža is "the notorious Slovak nationalist agitator" Ľudevít Štúr is "the Slovak nationalist agitator", in the newspaper "which had been permitted to be published by the Government of Vienna he took an unbridled stand against Magyardom." Whereas about the Serb national worker, the brave Svetozár Miletić, who had waged such hard battles with the Magyars all his life, they let it be known here that he was "one of the leaders of the Hungarian Serbs . . . . although a fiery Serb still a good Hungarian patriot." This is very instructive! In the defense of their nationality the Serbs of Hungary had an impregnable bulwark in their national church; the Slvaks were connected with the Magyars and the Germans in one church and in the other, in the Catholic and the Protestant, and were being overwhelmed and exterminated nationally. Besides, the Rumanians and Serbs could lean on their brethren beyond the frontiers, from whom only the frontiers of the political state separated them. There could not be any such support from Bohemia for the Slovaks. There they had enough misery of their own: in their name Dr. Rieger in the beginning of the eighties and Udržal even before the World War, assured Magyar politicians in Pest that they (the Czechs) would not take the part of the Slovaks. Anyhow, the Slovaks fared here the worst. The Magyars felt justified in exterminating the Slovaks with all the means within the power of the state. In the Pest encyclopedia the city of Nový Sad is impartially spoken of as "the center of the intellectual and social

Slovakia, the most prominent and wealthiest people dressed in clothes made from woolens from Puchov and Radvany. (The decline came, when through the decrees of Maria Theresa the industries of the Austrian crownlands were to be protected.) In textiles even in the first half of the nineteenth century there were in the Slovak hamlets such master-artisans that many a piece of their workmanship would have deserved to be placed in a museum. [1] The work of our carpenters consisted of wooden houses in the hamlets, their shields (signs) and gates leading into the yard. (The so-called frame arti-

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life of the Serbians", and Turčianský Sv. Martin is presented as the "rallying place of Panslav agitation of the Hungarian Slovaks."

Even in the stormy period of 1848-49 the Serbs and Rumanians acted harsher against the Magyars than did the Slovaks. In Transylvania, even in 1874, there was aflame the rebellion of Hora and Kloska, in which the Rumanians gave the Magyars a sound drubbing and plucking. No such thing happened among us, and yet, since the nineteenth century the Slovaks were the "worst." One would surmise that this was because of Kollár, Hollý and Šafárik, the representatives of the Slav idea, of Panslavism, over which there was no such fuss. To the Magyars Kollár, Hollý and Šafárik appeared to be worse than Hora and Kloska. But that is not the point. The anti-Slovak excitement was the result of renegacy. The Serbs and Rumanians had very few renegades; the Slovaks — owing to unfavorable circumstances — very many, and since the beginning of the eighteenth century when the conception of the national idea started — it seems that renegades gave Magyar policy its directive.

1) A small dictionary could be compiled from the terminology of the Slovak weavers. (Article of Pavel Križko "O Tkalcovstve" Slov. Pohľady, 1891, pg. 533.)

cular churches have been mentioned before.) [1] "Look at the dipper of our herdsmen and you will dream of Phydias", said Sladkovič. Look at the collection of such dippers in the museum of Turčianský Sv. Martin, and you will agree with the poet! (I have seen strangers stop in admiration in front of this collection.) And this popular wood carving is not limited to dippers of the herdsmen only; we find it on monuments in cemeteries, on spinning wheels, canes, on all kinds of farm furnishings, in short, on all kinds of articles made from wood. The Slovaks furnished since times immemorial almost all of Hungary with uncarved wooden kitchen utensils. Slovaks selling wooden utensils as their products could be seen in the public squares of the cities far beyond the lower Tisa. [2] Or when in the second half of the seventeenth century the Jesuits in the monastery of Kláštor pod Zniovom taught the population of the so-called Turčian territory about medicinal herbs, this developed into the trade of *oil vendors;* the

1) K. Vydra: Lidové stavitelství na Slovensku, 1925.

2) It would have been advisable after the revolution to found in Slovakia as soon as possible at least one Industrial Art School. It was a crying necessity not to permit this gift of the Slovaks to degenerate or die out, but foster it for economic as well as for cultural reasons. Instead of a school there came heavy taxation of this home industry that the peasant cannot even come to the market place (or county fair) if he has not some kind of a ticket (tax receipt or permit?).

people from Turčian distributing medicines not only in the Austrian monarchy, but also in Germany, Holland, France, Sweden, Poland and Russia. About the treatment by the oil vendors we find also satirical comment in books; in Turec itself many ridiculous anecdotes are preserved about them; but the reputation which they made for themselves in the world presents them as people very fit for life. Even in my own recollection there was in Turčianská Sklabina the oil vendor Kučera, after whom a person came from Holland, sent for him to come and treat a very sick person. (We can imagine what reputation he had among some people in the world when in a case of severe sickness they did not send for a doctor to the Hague, Paris, London, Berlin, or Vienna, but into the Slovak mountains, beneath Sklabín castle.) In the course of time the oil vendors became safron vendors; the people of Turčiany, instead of trading in oil, traded in various articles of commerce. They mostly went to Russia and Rumania, and from house-to-house trading developed in such a degree that the Slovaks from Turčiany established considerable business houses from Warsaw to Odessa, Moscow, Čita and Vladivostok; in Rumania in Bucharest, Braila, Galac, and even went over to Sophia (Bulgaria). As a result, prosperity not only increased in Turec,

but also culture spread. [1] The linen trade which developed in Upper Orava was also noteworthy. The linen traders of Orava delivered linen not only over Hungary, but carried it into Croatia, Damatia, Transylvania, Rumania and Southern Russia, into the Crimea. The lace traders again were mostly from Zvolen county, the wire-goods traders (drotári) from Upper Trenčiany and also from Spiš. The wire-goods traders also settled in Russia in the cities, and through their ability created workshops, and out of these even considerable establishments, manufacturing tin kitchen utensils. Glaziers, furiers (as for instance in Ratková) and bag-makers (from Myjava and Sobotište) did not go beyond the frontiers; they remained at home, but the wax-traders (of Gemer and Novohrad) went courageously into the world and splendidly assisted the bee-keepers in the manufacture and distribution of their wax. [2] Ján Čaplovič, describing the industrial and commercial life in Hungary

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1) The book of Matúš Fiľo, also a safron vendor, is worth knowing: "Slovenský obchodník v ruskom kraji." T. Sv. Martin, 1888, Reprint from Slov. Pohľady, 1888. — The late Joseph Čapko, a magnanimous and thoughtful man, had begun to collect material for the history of safron vending; but he died. It is advisable to preserve his legacy. It will be much harder to collect this material in later days.

2) In the second half of the eighteenth century bee-culture was most widely developed in some of the Slovak parts from among all of Hungary.

in the first part of the nineteenth century, called special attention to the varigated abilities of the Slovaks. They till the fields, raise cattle, follow the trades, conduct business, are miners, transport on land and water (as raftsmen), they learn easily and could be called the *Englishmen of Hungary.* [1]

There is much orginality in the life of this people. The Slovak does not change his countenance easily. As mentioned, in the first half of the seventeenth century, when Primate-archbishop Peter Pázmaný in Trnava accomplished such great things in behalf of the Magyar spirit and language, the Croatians not only adjusted their spelling according to that of the Magyars, but also the language of their church-books, and upon the Slovak, who were nearer to Trnava than were the Croatians, Pázmaný's era had no intellectual effect whatever. Magyar historians of culture and literature complain that people at the end of the eighteenth century succumbed to the German spirit — and wrote in Magyar on German themes. No such thing happened among us. Little was created in the shackles of Latin, but no effect of German can be observed. The Slovak does not imitate. The late professor Vladimir I. Lamanskij was in

1) Johann V. Csaplovics: Gemälde von Ungern, 1829, II. pg. 5.

Slovakia for the first time in 1863, and had opportunity of looking around among the Slovak people — as a guest of Samuel Chalupka in Horná Lhota. Lamanskij had seen and learned to know people all over the world, and many of the Slavonic nations. He returned to us again in 1893. On the train from Bohumín the first Slovak station was Čadca and there, between the rails, where they were just shifting locomotives and cars up and down, he saw a Slovak workingman lying quietly, his head resting on his right hand, the noise right and left leaving him undisturbed. "He evidently" — Lamanskij told us later in Martin — "had then finished his work and did not have to care for any one or anything." Praising the character of the Slovak people he added that he could see in the countenance of that laborer of Kysuca how he would jump up and let out a whoop at an event or an occurence which would touch his feeling. Later, in 1905, when during a vacation he prepared to leave Petrograd for a summer sojourn, Lamanskij wrote to Martin that he is taking with him copies of Slovenské Pohľady in which were the works of Kukučín, and reproached us for not hastening their publication in book form. He not only liked the author, but also the characters of his narratives.

Lamanskij's laborer of Kysuca in the sta-

tion of Čadca brings to my mind another such typical Slovak. In 1884 four of us went on a hike from Martin to Banská Bistrica. Near the mountains, below the hamlet of Čremošnô, Svetozár Hurban and myself, attracted by something, had remained somewhat behind our other two companions. Near the path we found a middle aged man pasturing two oxen. We halted, as we intended, for a few words. But his very first few utterances were remarkable, both as to *what* he said as well as *how* he said it. We remained with him for quite a while, looking at one another while he spoke, and after we started out again, having pressed his hand, we made only about twenty steps and returned to him. Thus we returned twice and would have listened to him much longer had we been able to call to our companions to wait for us. This man, in all likelihood, had never been away from his narrow family circle, and yet his experience in life and his opinion about the world were such that it would have been desirable for us to learn from him. I remember that long afterwards when I did not like something about people who had schooling and had been in the world, I would compare them, to their disadvantage, with our man from Čremošnô.

After Lamanskij's experience with the man of Kysuca and our man of Čremošnô it oc-

curred to me what kind of people I had learned to know from among the artisans of fifty years ago in the cities of Gemer. They had only learned in the village school; later at their trades and by "tramping", and yet, what splendid masters they were in their trades! How useful for society, community and church, and how respected by every one! Their personality impressed on first sight. Our famous Joseph M. Hurban recalled unto his death the joy he felt when in Turčianský Sv. Martin, at the patriotic Slovak gathering in 1861, and later, in 1863, at the opening of Matica Slovenská, he saw, heard, and learned to know better the burgher-artisans of Martin, Andrej Švehla, the Šimkos, Ďarmek, and Kunaj. Somewhat later we learned to know the citizens of Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš; among them the founders of those large, renowned industrial establishments — what people, what personalities! It was indeed worth observing western Slovakia, for instance, Brezová. Their neighbors say about the people of Brezová that judgment day will be held when all the people of Brezová will be at home, meaning thereby, that they are always scattered over the world, after business, trade and various means of earnings; so full of effort, industrious and untiring! — I remember from the first half of the eighties that in the iron works be-

low Brezová, and in Banská Štiavnica, with Kachetmann's, the technical managers were Slovaks who had started to work there as common laborers.

But having mentioned the plain people, the Slovak villages and the splendid citizens and the master-artisans, it is also worth mentioning Madva. Francis Madva (1786-1852) was a priest in Rúdno near Prievidza from 1822—1850, and through his medical treatments became so renowned that the sick came to him from afar as if to some clinic. Once it happened that two rascals came who simulated ailments, in an effort of ridiculing him. Madva gave them a prescription for the druggist of Prievidza — for a mess of dumplings. His reputation also aroused the attention of Louis Arányi, professor of the medicinal faculty at the university of Pest. He came to Rúdno in summer, for a long stay, and conversed with the sick, eagerly reading their prescriptions. He had lengthy discussions with Madva himself, trying to find something to belittle him. From this visit resulted Arányi's book "Rúdno és lelkésze" in 1846, in which the professor paid homage to the special talent of Madva.

The machinery of state was consistently unfavorable, and unfriendly to the Slovaks. Various facts are known in this respect about

archduke Joseph, who resided in Budín as the representative of the dynasty. The Polish Slavophil Andrej Kucharski traveled in Slovakia in 1828-29 and noted down in alarm what he had heard at a dinner with a family of high position. Much Slovak was spoken, and yet, Kucharski heard there also this sentence about Slovak: "Die Sprache soll ausgerottet werden." [1] (This language ought to be exterminated.) Thus, we see, even as early as 1828 such slogans took root. When later, in 1867, the Magyars got a free hand from Vienna and the Hapsburgs, the machinery of state practised the principle of "extermination" with great persistence and ruthlessness. It must be understood, that in such a situation, under such conditions the Slovak cause could not but meet with failure. Every year Slovak affairs were attended by fewer people. Whatever, for instance, had been accomplished in a village by a zealous Slovak priest, or a minister, was marred by his successor, a Magyaron (renegade). It is life's custom that the people are ready to condemn a failure. When the results of patriotic work could not be readily seen by people who stood on the side lines, one would hear criticisms, "that the Slovak patriots only

1) V. A. Francey: Poľskoje slavianovieděnia. Praga Českaja, 1905, pg. 443.

engaged in literary work and were writing verses."

But what example have we for the contraversion of this kind of criticism? Examples of what had been accomplished in the villages. The life of Stephen Homola, priest in Rybník, Gemer county, well written, could be translated into other languages — as highly exemplary. To develop Rybník intellectually and patriotically, Homola endeavored to put his community on a sound economic, material basis; and he suceeded: by tireless work of many years he arranged the church holdings, communal and private properties. Rybník became a model community. In that same county (Gemer), in Rejdová, Ján Konček, its pastor, maintained his community in a splendid economic condition, and that in times when the surrounding villages were greatly on the decline. Of course, he was not lazy and looked after the needs of the people. For instance, if one or the other needed oxen or horses, he himself went to market to buy them. The villages in the neighborhood became indebted to the then new financial institutions; Rejdová avoided it because the pastor knew of the standing and the needs of every one of his parishioners, and did not permit him to borrow money haphazardly. In Upper Trenčín again, in Nesluš, Father Va-

liašek lived with his villagers in such accord that they gradually bought all the land and woods in their district, which had belonged to the nobility. Of course, this was not done on the spur of the moment, between morning and night, but by searching, efforts and action, over a period of many years, from youth to old age. Above Žilina, in Bytčice, Rev. Romuald Zaymus was a blessing to the whole neighborhood through his work. From Cerov, in Hont county, the activity of Rev. Samuel Rafanides and the teacher Stanislav Zoch would also be worthy of recording for the purpose of instruction and encouragement of others. Likewise, it would be a sin to permit the name of Ivan Ľub to be forgotten. He was a student of the Slovak gymnasium of Revúca; later studied at the institute of agriculture and gained experience on the estate of Ján Čipka in Brezno. In the first half of the seventies he wrote on agriculture and farming in Národnie Noviny and Lichard's Obzor. He wrote about practical problems in such an idealistic manner that it appeared to many that Ivan Ľub took life very little into consideration. But the mishap of Kraskov became known. The inhabitants of that community (in Gemer county) had bought in their district a larger parcel of property from the nobility. The first adversity was that they did

not have the money, another that they did not know how to manage the undivided property. As a result a short time afterwards they were in danger of losing the money they had put into this venture. Ivan Ľub heard of the adverse situation affecting this village. He offered the people of Kraskov to manage their common property without pay, except so much in victuals as he would need for his maintenance. (He was unmarried and had inherited a small fortune.) The people of Kraskov accepted; Ivan Ľub began to manage, plow and sow according to the instructions which he had advocated in his articles in Národnie Noviny and Obzor. Only a few years passed and it became evident that the people of Kraskov will be saved. He did save them: the purchase price was paid and the industrious cultivation of the fields later yielded the peasants a profit . . .[1] Or — in order to quote two or three more names — the work of Andrej Kmeť in the service of the Slovak national cause! When in 1875, through the

1) I was at "Otčin" (as Ľub had called the communal property of Kraskov) twice, in 1878 and in 1887, and have only pleasant recollections of what I saw. He lived with the people as a father with his children. He had scarcely any personal needs, living as a vegetarian and ascetic; an ideal man in the fullest sense of the word. In the beginning of the nineties he left Kraskov for the lowlands, on account of illness, to be with relatives. There he perished. It is not even known where he died.

confiscation of Matica Slovenská, we also lost its museum collections, fifteen years later we only needed to put up the building (Národný Dom) in Martin and Kmeť brought from his village an almost complete museum, especially very rare archeologic, natural-historic, and ethnographic collections. He had created it in the poor parish of Prenčov. George Holček, one generation older than Kmeť, as a priest, found means to visit seminaries and encourage the Slovak students there, that as future Slovak priests they were obliged to prepare for Slovak activity. Wherever he went through the village, he looked up the schools everywhere and encouraged their teachers. If he found a youth who betrayed artistic talent, he took care that he could study. Indeed, the Slovak patriots were not indifferent. Benjamin Červenák, an ardent member of the memorable corps of Štúr in Bratislava, as a young theologian, at home in Zvolen, and in Novohrad counties, went to parishes and schools to see whether the priests and teachers were doing their duties as Slovaks, and wherever he found it necessary, did not refrain from reproaching them in heated, flaming language. The unforgettable Francis V. Sasinek, at first a Capuchine monk, during his whole life was only for eight years so situated to have a salary, namely, as professor of theology in

Banská Bystrica, and later as secretary of Matica Slovenská, in Turčiansky Sv. Martin [1]; and yet as a man of seventy years the Slovak public paid him homage for having donated over 40,000 florins during his life towards Slovak patriotic enterprises. It was said about Sasinek that a penny turned into a dollar in his hand. Even had this been the case, he often had to make personal sacrifices to be able to save that money. How strong was his Slovak sentiment, that during his whole life he could be so mindful of the needs of the nation! Or the work of Andrej Halaša. It can be said of him that as soon as he left school he did not spend a day in his life in which he would not accomplish as much in behalf of the public cause as he would in his own profession, although in this respect he was also untiring, because of his family. To live thus is only possible under a special initiation.

As can be seen from these examples, there was an initiation among us, and yet, one could not advance — the political conditions in the country being so savage and brutal, so far as the Slovaks were concerned.

Had there been a possibility of living as other cultured nations do, even in the nine-

1) His annual salary was 600 florins.

teenth century, many things from the past of Slovakia would have been brought to light. Things of such a nature that Slovakia would have become even more endeared to Slovak sentiment, and Slovak thought would have gained thereby in livelines and energy.

There are so many antique objects in these parts (Slovakia) that it would be worth while to search for them and examine them with observing eyes. In the beginning of our century, in the monograph of Gemer-Malohont county, Baron Eugene Nyáry, the archoelogist, boasted that he and professor Fábry of Sobota excavated in Vyšna Pokoradz in 1882, and they found urns and bronze objects; but Samuel Tomášik had already written about these relics of Pokoradz; in 1865 I went with two other students of the second grade of the gymnasium of Rimavska Sobota — in the wake of rumors, and curious what we would find — botanizing into the grove at Pokoradz, and found not far below the top-layer of earth fragments of urns. Not far from Pokoradz, beyond Sklanik is Maginhrad (whose very name is an antiquity) above and beyond Rimava to Hradova Tisa, there are several pre-Christian castles, and everywhere urns and bronze articles were found. In Gemer Tomášik [1] (and before him Gustav Reiss) called attention to several such

highly noteworthy relics of pre-Christian times, especially from Jelšava to Šivetice. In Turec, where we have a *Vyšehrad,* beyond Pravno, Jonáš Záborský mentions in the annals of Matica and in "Sokol" the fortifications, and near them the *groves.* From Turiec, upwards and downwards, in a wide zone, it reaches as far as Devín, on the entire territory inhabited since ancient times by Slovaks, here, denser, there sparser. [2)]

Many antiquities are also found in our language and its dialects — it only needs proper study. It is also necessary to record various customs. The Russian Slavist Sreznievskij, who was older than Lamanskij, wrote in 1842, after a prolonged study trip through Slovakia, that even if he would have remained there another two or three years, he still would not have exhausted the rich sources

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1) Letopis Matice Slovenséj: IX, I. 872, pg. 32.

2) Tomášik wanted to explain the name POKORADZ etymologically, but did not succeed, for he had forgotten the Slovak noun pokora: mám pokoru — I am in mourning (for some one), the verb POKOROVAŤ to be in mourning. Pokoradz, then originally, before the ancient ď in our language did change into DZ, pokoraď is pokora with the affix ď and signifies a place of mourning, a burial ground. It seems to me that the groves of Pokoradz, sixty years ago, when I was there, were still called a cemetery. — The name MOHYLA has also been preserved. Instructions about these ancient Slovak relics can be found in the works of Mikuláš Kubinyi, Dr. Zavadil, I. L. Červinka and Ján Eisner (in Ľubor Nierderle's magazine.)

which the life in the Slovak village throws open to the ethnographer, philologist and historian. Soon after Sreznievskij, having their attention called to Slovak sources by the spirited Božena Nemcova, Czech painters (Manes, Bohuslav Čermák and Vešín) began to visit Slovakia to refresh their minds. In the middle of the century least of all came the philologists, and we did not have any home-talent in these adverse circumstances. Thus the Slovak language remained unstudied, which certainly must be detrimental to Slavonic philology, because of it being geographically located in the center of the Slavonic languages.[1] Two persons alone recently collected almost nine thousand melodies of Slovak songs.

Aside from songs, from among that which Sreznievskij found in such abundance, relative-

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1) Dobrovský also prepared to visit Slovakia for the sake of the language, but never accomplished it. The natives who had education and began to devote themselves to the study of Slovak were later torn away from it by the rigors of life, (Šafárik, Hattala) others died before they could accomplish what they comtemplated. — In connection with the book of Francis Trávníček (Příspěvky k dějinám českého jazyka, Brno, 1927) in "Slavia", Prague, (VI., 2 and 2, pg. 485) Dr. A. Kolarič, a Slovene, touches the relationship of Bulgarian with our Slovak language. Kolarič, just like Trávníček, discussed this matter with a grammar in hand, but this question only becomes more confused if treated in this manner; it cannot become elucidated. Besides the grammar, maps are necessary, nomenclatures, and also some history. From Mt. Matra to the Šajava the topographic names are thorough proof of the close relationship be-

ly little has been copied up to the present time. Shortly after his visit the collection of popular traditions was begun, but it did not proceed beyond Gemer and two or three other counties. Every year there were fewer people for such tasks. Even in the first half of the nineteenth century the higher Catholic clergy in Hungary was commonly from among the Slovaks. Slovaks would even come to the Croatians. Until 1837 Alexander Alagovič, a Slovak from Nitra, was bishop of Zagreb; after him came a native of Trnava, George Haulik, who became archbishop of Croatia. Up to 1851 Stephen Moyses also belonged to the chapter of Zagreb, and in the sixties there came to the gatherings of Ma-

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tween the Slovene-Bulgars and the Slovene-Slovaks (the Magyar language having preserved the Slovak names in their original sounds.) Concerning the question of relationship of the Slovaks with the other South-Slavs (before the arrival of the Magyars) it is necessary to know that the Slovak settlements extended from Ostrihom, Vyšehrad, Budín and Tetín in the direction of Stolný Belehrad. The Slovak settlements today in the Pilis highlands and in Belehrad county are not colonies of the first half of the eighteenth century (as those between the Danube and the Tisa, and beyond the Tisa) — those the Magyars had found already there. When it will be possible to study the language of these colonies all doubt will vanish. (Über die Verwandschaftlichen Verhältnisse der einzelnen slav. Sprachen kann man im allgemeinen sagen dass dieselben meist auch der GEOGRAPHISCHEN Lage entsprechen . . . Vondrák, Vergleichende Slavische Grammatik, pg. 1). Of course, the Slovaks remain western Slavs just the same. The topographic nomenclature of these Trans-Danubian parts is also western Slavonic.

tica Slovenská a Roman Catholic priest from Croatia, Ivan Tambor, a native of Žilina. There were many of our educated people outside of Slovakia, beyond the frontiers, who were not from among the clergy. Šafárik retired to Prague, persecuted by Metternich's police of Vienna; but Prague which had become attractive for educated people from among the Slavs in Šafárik's time, had harbored even before him an excellent Slovak, Benedikti Nudožerský. During the transition of the sixteenth into the seventeneth century Benedikti was a professor at the university of Prague; his grammar of the Czech language is being praised as having been the best of that period and he became distinguished in the cause of Czech prosody. Ján Jesensky, (Jesensius), the son of a Turčian Slovak, was a professor at the university of Prague and a renowned matryr of 1621. The other Jesensky, Paul, was among the translators of the Králická bible. Ján Amos Komenský, a Moravian, though a Slovak just the same, was also a great pedagog, a teacher of nations. Gallus, the first Polish chronicler in the beginning of the twelfth century, will also be credited to us. [1] I

1) W. Ketrzynski (in the Cracow Academy in April 1909) explained that Gallus had been a Hungarian Slav. If that is the case then he was a Slovak. For Croatians and Serbs it was too far to Poland, and there were no Sub-Carpathian Russians then.

also consider a Slovak the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Michael Balud'anský of Zemplín, who was at first professor at the Academy of Law in Veľký Varadín, later tutor of the czarevich (Nicholas I) of Russia, and finally president of the czar's cabinet chancery. Among the Croatians, during the time of the fiercest struggle, from the end of the thirties for more than half a century, our Bohuslav Šulek (†1895) worked splendidly. At first he was Ľudovít Gay's right hand man, later he became untiring in the cause of language.[1] During that time Janko Šafárik, a contemporary of Ľudevit Štúr was successfully active in Belehrad. In the last quarter of the century again our Dionysius Štúr was director of the Geological Institute in Vienna, which means that in those days Austria-Hungary did not have a geologist superior to him (in fact, she did not have even one who was his peer.)

Thirty-five years after Löher, who was a German from the Empire, had called the world for help (1874) because the Slovaks were absorbing their German neighbors, a German

1) V. Jagić who is especially qualified to judge in matters affecting the Croatian language wrote that Šulek "has inestimable merits in behalf of the Croatian language . . . . With his dictionary (Nemečko-hrvatski rěčnik) he rendered the Croatian literary language services as only a rare work would. (Istorija slavianskoj filologii, 1910. pg. 431.)

from Spiš made himself heard in this matter in Magyar. [1] He emphatically explained what — he alleged — Spiš had been until recently. "With the sole exception of Stará Ľubovna, in the cities belonging to the XVI. district of Spiš cities, then in Kežmark, Levoča and the Spiš mining towns, the German language was commonly in use . . . In the valleys of the Poprad, Hornád and Hnilec the German element was the almighty factor of each particular industrial establishment, business and the economic life in general. The renowned schools of Nová Ves, Levoča, and especially of Kežmark, were frequented by a large number of students from the lowlands that they might learn German thoroughly. *And today not only in those cities, but even in the smaller communities this is hardly possible. It cannot be done any more in Spiš.* Even the custom of exchanging children has ceased . . . " [2] The general state of affairs has greatly changed here to the detriment of Germandom. Should this process continue

1) Dr. Forberger Béla: A szepesi német elem pusztulásáról. (On the movement of the German element in Spiš.) 1909, Igló. (Forberger wrote this on the occassion of a Congress which the natives of Spiš living in all parts of Hungary, held that year in Spišská Nová Ves.)

2) Among the Slovaks and Magyars it was a widespread custom to send the children to Spiš for the sake of learning the German language and in exchange take from there German children.

there will not remain a single soul of that Cipser element which once had been so fit to live. Everything — he alleges — will be Slovak (pg. 10). According to statistical reports based on the census of 1900, there still would be 42,885 Germans in the territory of Spiš county, but in realty there are considerably less. The Slovaks disappear from Spiš, to go to America, but they find compensation for this by growing at home, in the cities. (pg. 20) According to official reports there should be a growth of Magyars (but he adds in parenthesis: "Magyar speaking people") but the Slovaks contributed the least even to such a growth of Magyardom. They leave the villages in large numbers to go to America, and yet, on the whole their numbers here are not much smaller. "They spread at the expense of the German and Russian element. In 1869 there were 88,211 Slovaks, and in 1900, although many had emigrated, they already had 99,557. (pg. 33.)

Such absorption or dislocation of Germans took place among us even in 1909, but generally matters were very adverse for the Slovaks then. Slovak mothers gave birth to sons who were fit to live, as of yore, but without avail — they had no opportunity for development. We stood aghast — a little longer and there would

be neither Catholic priests, nor Evangelical ministers, even for the Slovak villages — from among us, whence there had been enough even for the neighbors. [1] Dionysius Štúr, when dying in the nineties, bequeathed a sum for the purpose of founding stipends for Slovak university students, but parents hardly sent their sons to school any more. Since 1907 Magyar had been taught from the alphabet up even in the remotest hamlets of Slovakia; after the age of twelve, when the parents were no longer compelled to send their children to school, as the law required, they turned away from the Magyar school. In America, on the other hand, in the United States alone, the census of 1910 shows 700,000 Slovaks. In Hungary there were no schools for Slovaks, and in the twentieth century a nation without schools cannot evade slavery. The Slovak had only to cross over the threshold of his home, and everywhere he had foreigners as his superiors. In such modern slavery extinction is inevitable.

The Russian pamphlet of Papkov "Nevolničestvo u Madiar" (meaning, of course, the serfdom of the Slovaks) published also in

1) At first mostly Slovaks were Catholic priests in a considerable part of Hungary; in the first half of the seventeenth century there arose complaints from among the Magyars that to the Pazmaneum in Vienna, then a new institution, none but Slovaks were being sent as students.

French, then the stand taken by Björnson, the great Norwegian, were actions aroused by a very acute state of affairs . . . Only a World War could help here.

History notes that even in this Babylonian captivity the Slovak cultural efforts were represented by the works of Andrej Kmeť (the museum of Martin), Richard Osvald (the Slovak Bible), George Janoška, and Andrej Halaša. Slovak literature, which began with Ján Hollý, also had Hviezdoslav, Svetozár Hurban and Kukučín; along with them Elena Šoltésová, Terezia Vansová, Timrava, Ľudmila Podjavorinská, Kristína Royová — as if in assurance that should the men become exterminated the women would take their place to reveal and preach the Slovak spirit.

CONCLUSION.

I have tried briefly to show so much of Slovak past as to be justified in exclaiming with Sládkovič: "Don't slander my people." *)

In March 1919 I saw Milan Štefánik in Paris for six or seven days and during this short time I heard from him at least six or seven times: "The average man of any other nation cannot compare with the average Slovak." When I heard him say this the first time I was under the impression that he wanted it to be heard, and I explained to myself that in all probability things were being said which were to the disadvantage of the Slovaks. My impression was strengthened when I heard those words from him a second, third and even the sixth time expressed with the same emphasis.

My impression was that Štefánik had heard of some belittling of the Slovaks. But he also could have presumed adverse opinion. People are always ready to condemn an unfortu-

*) "Nehaňte Ľud Môj" (Don't slander my people) is the title under which these "Sketches" were published in the original. (Translator.)

nate one just as everything is splendid and well with a fortunate one who is splendidly situated. About the Slovaks in the nine hundred years of the past, covered with and throttled by all kinds of shortcomings, more than one rash opinion could have become deep-rooted. Václav Novotný, when judging in "České Dějiny" the coming of the Magyars to the middle Danube, wrote that: "in the fierce and unyielding Magyar people" a strong dam was thrown up to further aggression of Germanization, such as the meek and submissive Slavonic race would have never been able to create.[1] He wrote Slavonic race, but speaking of Greater Moravia, he could have only meant the Slovaks. To him the Slovaks were "a meek and submissive" race, right after the chapter in which he narrated how Mojmír's, Rastislav's and Svätopluk's Greater Moravia during two thirds of the ninth century had obstructed the surge of the Germanic world down the Danube and eastward. Even after the downfall of Greater Moravia there were no Germans on the left bank of the Danube and in Bratislava, during the first half of the twelfth century, but on the other bank, among the Magyars, the Germans were the overlords since the end of the twelfth century.[1] Even

1) "České Dějiny", 1911, pg. 439.

later, in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, in spite of their hard life, and the adverse conditions, the Slovaks partly absorbed and partly dislodged the Germans who had been invited into the country and then showered with privileges. I claim, they partly absorbed and partly dislodged so many Germans as relatively no one else among the Slavs had done. In the first third of the nineteenth century a Hungarian statistician [2] claimed with emphasis that not one Slovak village, even during the flood of such privileged Germans, had become Germanized. In 1874, after the machinery of state had come into the hands of the Magyars who since 1867 brutally exterminated the Slovaks, the German historian and politician Löher complained that the Germans did not withstand the proximity of the Slovaks between the Carpathians and the middle Danube. In 1909, when the Slovaks were still more throttled by Magyarization, an Hungarian German called for help in behalf of the Germans of Spiš county and advised them that they could save themselves among the Slo-

1) One can say it was the lot of the Magyars to SERVE THE GERMANS. When great matters were at stake (in the struggle of the Slavs with the Germans, for instance Otakar II and Rudolph of Hapsburg, they always sided with the Germans). Thus they happened to come (together with the Germans) before the court in Paris and the Trianon.

2) J. Csaplovics: Gemälde von Ungern, 1829, I. pg. 220.

vaks only by becoming Magyarized.[1] Besides, we are readily inclined to judge an unfortunate rashly; it is our human peculiarity to forget adversity once it is passed. Václav Novotný, considering the Slovaks "a meek and submissive" race, incapable of resistance, springs from that Czech generation which does not know any longer in what conditions its grandfathers had lived. How could that generation comprehend how matters stood with the Slovaks up to the end of the World War. That generation only saw our backwardness, and imagined and still does imagine that it is adequate with the conditions which had existed here since Adam and Eve. That same Czech generation does not know that for from thirty-five to forty years, until the end of the World War, hardly any one went to school,[2] (except to elementary, which was compulsory), parents and those whose na-

1) Ibid. pg. 117.

2) Samuel Tomášik, when visiting Prague on his journey to the German university saw there such a decadence that, stamping his foot (Thunder and hell!) such a repulse arose in him, he then and there composed the song (Hej Slované) which later had its blessed effects especially on the Czech nation. Even in 1856, at the funeral of Havlíček, whom German reactionaries had persecuted, Czech society in Prague was so timid that people were afraid to be seen near the coffin. Three years later the Russian Slavist P. Lavrovskij had the experience in Prague that Czech patriots were afraid to walk the streets in his company. It was awkward for him to see how scared and humble they were when saluting Austrian officials in the streets.

tional sentiment had not been aroused realized that Magyar schools were not beneficial for their children, and they turned away from them. Besides, such an upheaval, such a revolution as had been caused by the five years of World War, also changes the mentality of people. Mrs. Vilma Seidlova (I mention her name as being sufficient) having seen what conditions we had been in during those times, lamented over us; today she looks upon us with contempt. (See Slov. Pohľady, 1926, pg. 87.) In June 1919 the predatory Magyar Bolshevik invasion occurred and during the defense on the Novohrad-Zvolen frontier Commander Šnejdárek was confounded — his army was so unpatriotic, and since the war contaminated with all kinds of 'isms'. But on the first report that things fared badly in Turec, within twenty-four hours a volunteer corps of three hundred men formed and their enthusiasm changed the spirit of the army and the Magyar hordes were routed in a short time.[2] And yet, even such an example remained without effect among us. The Slovaks in the Czecho-Slovak army are considered 'unreliable.' They remain privates. (They are practically barred from service in the Gendarmery — State troopers.) In the bar-

2) See: Letopis Matice Slovenskej, 1921, pg. 44.

racks of Turčiansky Sv. Martin a lieutenant explained to the soldiers in the mean time what a waste of money it was to build an institute for the promotion of the trades opposite the barracks. (For he judges that as until now, so in the future, the Slovaks will not accomplish anything in the trades.)

We should imagine that nine years of relationship between Czechs and Slovaks are too short a time; various prejudices and erroneous opinions could not have been lived down in nine years. All we can do is to assure ourselves contendedly in the conviction of a patient preparation for better and more brotherly conditions. *But above all we must never humble nor reproach ourselves without cause* (that the late Milan Štefánik should not turn in his grave.)

When eighty years ago (1846) Alfred Meissner in the epic poem "Žižka" wrote:

> "Erzählen möcht' ich heut dem deutschen Herzen
> in Donnersängen grollend und gedämpft,
> Wie hier ein Volk, ein herrliches, mit Schmerzen,
> Wie keines sonst für Licht und Lenz gekämpft.
> Doch das erkenn: Dass, was wir bestens ehren,
> Aus diesem Volk unsterblich in uns lebt — "

(I should like to tell today the German hearts in song of thunder and subdued, how here a glorious nation painfully fought, as no other had done, for Light and Spring. — But remember: that what we mostly honor in this nation will live immortally in ourselves.)

which, written by him, a Bohemian German, was very decent. But to state today, in conversations between Czechs and Slovaks that Greater Moravia was only *an attempt* "towards our free state-life" an "ephemeral formation", and on the other hand boost Bohemia in hyperbolas, in a degree which (especially in present days) [1] has no historic foundation — can hardly be beneficial. Or to claim that the brother Czech "had fought for his (the Slovaks) freedom and independence, snatched him away from the Magyar yoke, saved him from national death . . ." is hardly a proper appraisal of the World War. When we Slovaks have an expression from a serious Czech historian as to what Bohemia had twice received from Slovakia, [2] we could endure from our brothers, the Czechs, even some opinions presented with exaggeration, but they must not be presented with the intention of humiliating the Slovaks.

1) The book of Jozef Pekař: Žižka a jeho doba. I. Praha, 1927, is also very instructive.

2) Palacký was tutored for his great task of gaining Bohemia for a new life and new culure in Prešporok on the Danube ,the capital of Hungary. It was for the second time in history that from that side from the Danube had originated thoughts of enlightenment and liberation for our homeland. The first time it was a thousand years ago, during the time of the Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius, who brought to us by this route the light of Christian knowledge (During the Palacký celebration in the Pantheon of the Czech Museum, June 29, 1912, by the speaker of the occasion, Professor Joseph Pekař.)

This humiliation took its inception right after October 1918, as soon as the impressions of the first great moment had vanished. (In fact some twelve years prior, when in society and in special newspapers Czecho-Slovak unity was being mentioned.) But it is a great mistake to attempt to win over and attach some one to one's self by humiliation and belittling.

Right after October 1918 too much politics was being played. As evident from my explanations in the preceeding chapter, no one went to school in Slovakia during the past thirty-five to forty years, thus the new state needed schools above all. *Schools answering the various needs of life. Everything else would have evolved out of itself.*

Anyhow, nine years is not enough time for the building of a state. In nine years, even under a mistaken policy, not enough evil could have been created to be irreparable. But it would be necessary to soon take a stand that there remain no memory of that policy, and with each step to keep in mind what Slovakia had been until 1918. Nevertheless, whoever is a Slovak, with him Slovak sentiment is ever growing.

I have mentioned the sparks which shone in the Slovak villages even in the most adverse times. Therefore, don't turn away timidly, but

observe where such a spark becomes visible, and put your hands to action there . . . There is no necessity of running away from a field such as the Slovak field can become in the Czecho-Slovak state.

ADDENDA.

Caption II., pg. 71-72: A. I. Sobolevskij even recently says about the great "Supraľský Codex" that from all indications it had been written in some part of the later Hungary." (Izvestija otd'. russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Akademií nauk, 1285, pg. 445.)

Caption III., pg. 95: Even the most steadfast people, if tortured and exterminated, finally yield to any one from whom they expect alleviation. In 1670 from the territories of the king, which had not been subjugated by the Turks, thousands of people scatterd in flight, regardless of status, rich as well as poor, lords as well as serfs, and mostly sought refuge in Transylvania. From there these refugees (bujdosók) also called "Kuruci", made invasions into home territory to seek revenge, to get even and to rob, carry away. As a result of such "revenge" visits, religious strife also was stirred up. In 1672 such a corps of refugees led by Gaspar Pik came into Orava. They got the castle into

their power. But shortly afterwards the same Germans whom Pik had treacherously admitted into the castle, betrayed him. Pik fell into the hands of General Špork and ended with thirty-one of his men on the gallows in front of Orava castle. There is a picture (a woodcut) preserved of these gallows and hangings. Together with the men who had come with Pik were also those men from Orava who had joined them, hanged on the gallows. (Mikuláš Kubinyi: Árva vára, pg. 140.)

Not long afterwards Jánošik also sprung from these conditions. With no help from anywhere, without defense, every one else seeks to defend himself regardless of every one else. All there is left in such circumstances is to seize the 'valaška' (ax). Our poet had fittingly made Jánošik say:

.... ja chodil po zboji —
ale kto viacej zbíjal, ja, či kati moji?!"

(I went out robbing, but who robbed more, I or my executioners?!)

It would be historically untrue to raise here a question of status: serf and lord. Not therein lay the cause of the evil then.

Jánošík probably acted in the first years of the eighteenth century, or at the very end

of the seventeenth, but what happened in Transylvania, previously so protected by the Turks, even among the Saxons, who had had a very long peace? In the cities the decadence of public and private life was without parallel. It looked as if this were not a modern society. Ján Harteneck, a young man still, through particular talent and energy, was very useful to the cause of Transylvanian Saxons in Vienna. Thus he became head of their administration, as Count of Transylvania, and in different times he certainly would have rendered public affairs good services. But in that Sodom which then prevailed there he had a terrible family life. After a short time he ended on the scaffold, by the executioner's hand — through the fault of his wife. (But the name Harteneck stuck to him only in Transylvania — among the Saxons. He was a Slovak, from among our friends, the Cabans, a son of Isaac Caban.)

To show how people lived in those days in Slovakia, even in that remote Upper Orava, we will cite one more apt example. Our Ján Herkeľ, who — by the way — even in 1826, searched for an all-Slavonic language [1], recorded in "Zora" (Budín) (II. pg. 22) what his mother had saved after his father whom the

1) His book: Elementae universalis linguae slavicae. Budae, 1826.

'Kuruci' (in the rebellion of Francis Rákóci II. in the beginning of the eighteenth century) as village justice of the peace (rychtár) had hanged head downward because he refused to tell where the young men and the cattle of the village were concealed.

"Then — the father told his daughter — one robber would open the door for another. He who was more powerful was more just (might was right). Today people of Tekel would rob us — tomorrow the 'dogsheads'. My oldest son Paul had been conscripted into the imperial army, and a year later my second son, Joseph, was taken among the 'Kuruci', tied like a thief. They came from beneath the castle:[1] "Pay!"; they came from Kubín: "Pay!"; the Kuruci came: "Pay!" In those days our village stood near the old mill, but the Kuruci burnt it down, drove away with our cattle and our young man, and babies and the aged who could not flee into the mountains, were sometimes murdered." He himself lost his wife through death on such a flight into the mountains. "There I also buried her, near the cradle." —

Caption V., pg. 129: The Convent General, the highest forum of the Evangelical Church

1) The castle was in the power of the imperial soldiers.

in Hungary, in 1821, declared who was obliged to learn Magyar within five years. But it was worthy of attention that to this very session of the Convent General the petition of the pastor of Klenov, Peter P. Šrámek, for the publication of a Dictionary of the Bible, from a manuscript bequeathed by his father Paul Šrámek, was submitted. In his petition to the Convent General, Šrámek quoted: "Pray, be not ashamed of the Slovak nation or the Slovak language. Most of you are of Slovak origin and the majority of you praise God in the Slovak language. Don't be misled by the present Magyar fever, during which they are trying to make the Slovak over into a Magyar. We are the autochthones of this country, the Magyars are only later arrivals. The Slovaks are the soul of this country, without whom the Magyars would not know anything and would be unable to accomplish anything...." [1]

As can be seen both Magyars and Magyarism have heard plenty of honest talk.

Caption VIII., pg. 191: The mixture, which according to Ladislav Réthy himself, had formed itself under the name of Magyars,

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1) Zsilinszky Mihály: A magyarhoni prot. egyház története, pg. 656. The elder generation which studied in the first half of the nineteenth century was enamored with the elder Šramek's grammar of the Slovak language, published in 1805.

melted into a solid unit. Such a nation had scarcely any particular sign of distinction. It was somewhat immodest, I do not wish to say domineering, but entirely too boisterous. This peculiarity had been brought from the Orient by its original element. Withal it was friendly and not the worst kind of neighbor. But since the second half of the eighteenth century the European nations were under the spell of a new spirit. Whatever had joined this mixture called the Magyar nation in the basin of the Danube and Tisa since 1790, became here, under the influence of this new spirit, intolerant and aggressive, namely the renegades. It seemed as if the renegade was being burnt for his sins, for having broken away from his nation, so that he became a furious enemy of those whom he had abandoned. (We usually despise him against whom we sin.) With the Magyars, such as they were up to the middle of the eighteenth century, with that mixture which had not even a racial character, one could live under one form of state; with the Magyars after 1790, incited by a mass of renegades, common life, as one nation with another — was impossible.

Caption VIII., pg. 217: When Slovak history will also contain a chapter on the life of the Slovaks in America since the last third of

the nineteenth century, there will be found additional proofs that the Slovaks deserved a better lot than that which had been theirs for ages. And this chapter will also contain the paragraph: The American Slovaks in the World War.

THE END.

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